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ESSAY

IRISH TRADE

ALEC. W. SHAW.

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The following communication, relative to this
brochure, has been received by the Author
from the Rt. Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

A. W. SHAW, Esq.,

Mulgrave Street, Limerick.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your Addresses on Irish Trade, which I have read with great interest and advantage.

I appreciate your wisdom in avoiding the thorny and stony ground of politics; but I feel that the tendency of your work is to show how much there is to be done in Ireland that will never be done except by or under a native government.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient

W. E. GLADSTONE.

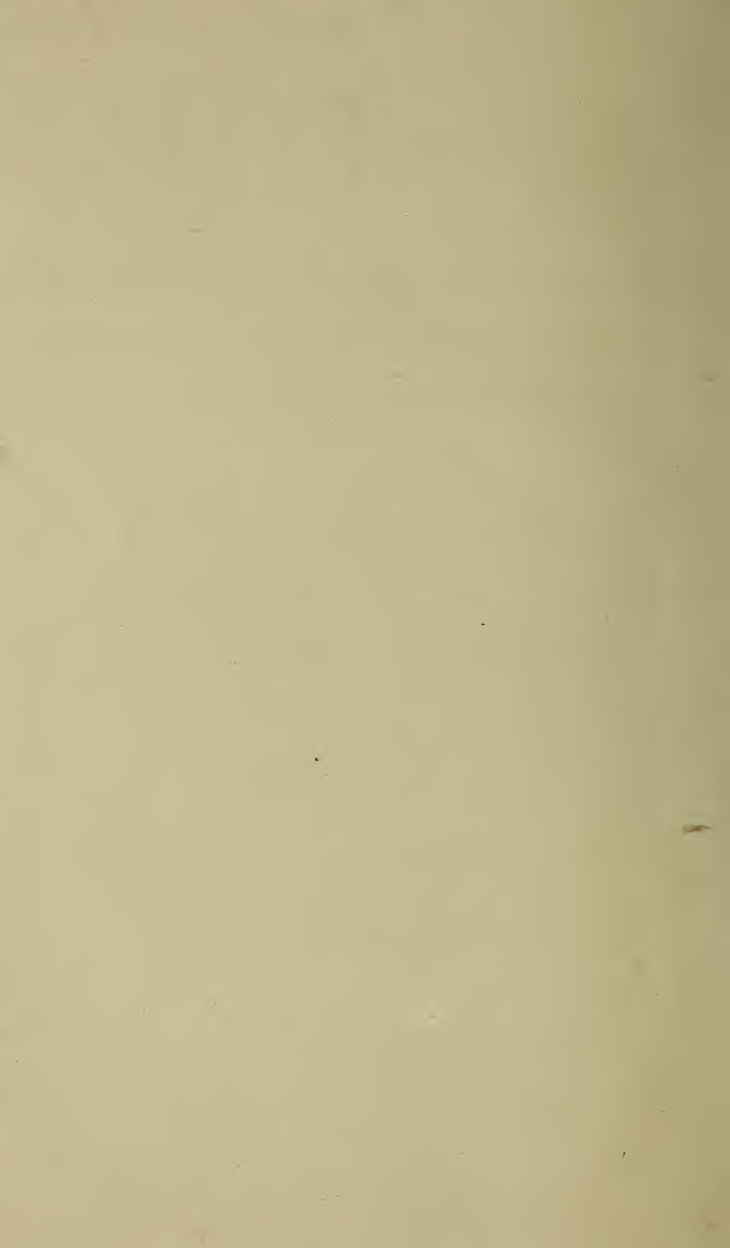
January, 1889.



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IRISH ÷ TRADE:

BEING

Two Papers read before the Literary and Debating
Class of the Limerick Protestant Young Men's
Association, November, 1888,

BY

ALEC. W. SHAW,

(MANAGING PARTNER, GARRYOWEN BACON FACTORY),
LIMERICK ;

TOGETHER WITH

DISCUSSION THEREON,

IN WHICH LORD MONTEAGLE, K.P., D.L., AND PROMINENT
CITIZENS TOOK PART.

LIMERICK :

GUY & CO. LTD, PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS,
114 GEORGE STREET.

1888.

11 Mar '29 Recd

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PREFACE.

THESE Papers are put to print at the unanimous request of the members of the Literary and Debating Class of the Limerick Protestant Young Men's Association; and, dealing with so vital a matter as "Irish Trade," should exonerate me, a business man, from all apology for obtruding my sentiments upon the public attention. Painfully conscious how crude and incomplete such hasty jottings upon this vast and intricate subject (made in moments furtively snatched from an engrossing occupation) must necessarily be, I shall feel deeply indebted for any suggestions the reader may be kind enough to offer.

My fullest acknowledgments are tendered to Professors W. K. Sullivan and J. G. Swifte McNeill, to Mr. Robert Dennis and Dr. Daly, whose invaluable writings I have often and irresistibly quoted at very considerable length.

A. W. S.

LIMERICK,
Nov. 30, 1888.



IRISH TRADE.

I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

“Chill Penury repressed their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.”—*Gray*.

TRADE or commerce is the basis of every nation's prosperity. Mention a great trading nation and you find a prosperous one. Mention a people without trade or manufacture and you find a poor country. England may be quoted as the best example of the former, Turkey of the latter class. Spain, a nation which at one time was mistress of the seas, had a vast trade, and was then rich: now comparatively without commerce or manufacture, is therefore poor. She barely ranks nowadays with the nations of the age. Anyone who has read the History of Ireland will have found that her position with regard to her capabilities for trade and commerce has been almost as favourable as that of any nation in the world. From time to time great and rich manufactures seem to have sprung up with almost phenomenal growth, and yet, if there is one vein of her history more strongly marked than another it is that of perpetual poverty. How is this to be accounted for? Dean Swift, writing about 1720, says, “Ireland is the poorest of all civilized countries, with every advantage to make it one of the richest.” Hely Hutchinson, a Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, writes in 1779: “Can the history of any other fruitful country on the globe enjoying peace for four score years, and not visited by plague or pestilence, produce so many recorded instances of the poverty and wretchedness, and of the reiterated want and misery of the lower orders of the people? There is no such example in ancient or modern story. If

the ineffectual endeavours by the representatives of those poor people to give them employment and food had not left sufficient memorials of their wretchedness ; if their habitations, apparel, and food were not sufficient proofs, I should appeal to the human countenance for my voucher, and rest the evidence on that hopeless despondency that hangs on the brow of unemployed industry." The London *Times*, as I shall quote you by-and-by, has, with many other authorities, expatiated upon the purely artificial nature of Irish famines and distress. Lord Dufferin (a county Antrim man, now Governor-General of India), in one of his three letters to the *Times* in June, 1867, says : "Some human agency or other must be accountable for the perennial desolation of a lovely and fertile land watered by the fairest streams, caressed by a clement atmosphere, held in the embrace of a sea whose affluence fills the richest harbour in the world, and inhabited by a race, valiant, tender, generous, gifted beyond measure with the power of physical endurance, and braced with the liveliest intelligence."

Now, sir, in my first quotation, from Swift, I stated the fact broadly. In my second, from Hutchinson, I spoke of its effects upon the people ; I then remarked that the English *Times* admitted that Irish depressions and famines were artificial ; and, finally, I quoted Lord Dufferin, so favourably known to us all, who says the fault was neither that of the Irishman nor his country. What, then, is and has been this strange disease ? Lord Dufferin himself shall find you the answer. Quoth he : "From Queen Elizabeth's reign until the Union (that is from 1600 to 1800), the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip of the trades of Ireland. One by one each of our nascent industries was either strangled in its birth or handed over gagged and bound to the jealous custody of the rival interest in England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed, and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through desuetude."

What does this statement mean ? Let us look to history, for, as Disraeli says, "The system that cannot bear discussion is doomed." Until the reign of Charles II. England placed no actual restriction on Irish commerce. The trading and manufacturing position of Ireland then was

that of a country extensively engaged in the production of wool and woollen fabrics, and these not only for her own use but largely for exportation. To give you some idea of the extent of this trade and the antiquity of the industry I will quote Dr. J. B. Daly, who is now writing a series of important articles upon Irish industries generally: "Ireland was thoroughly skilled in wool work long before the Flemish refugees had begun to teach the art to English workers. Irish woollen stuffs had an ancient history, and were valued two centuries before the first cloth manufacture was introduced into England. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Popes of Rome used to send their agents to several Irish towns to purchase woollen fabric for the construction of those gorgeous mantles worn on State occasions. Irish frieze was eagerly bought up in Spain and Italy, and so prized that garments made of it were entered in the wills of Florentine citizens as heirlooms."

We also largely exported cattle at this period to England. This and the wool industry are in fact specially referred to in numerous Acts of Parliament, dating from the reign of Edward III. to Charles II. The first Navigation Act of 1660 put England and Ireland upon exact terms of equality as regards the import and export trade of the countries. In the amended Navigation Act of 1663 the name of Ireland was either accidentally or purposely omitted. Now, what did this mean? Without giving the matter in detail, it meant that Ireland was at once deprived of sundry important abatements and privileges to which imports and exports of goods in British-made ships were entitled by the Book of Rates. All exports from Ireland to England's Colonies except "victuals, servants, horses, and salt," (these are the actual words) were prohibited. So far so bad, but the worst is to come. The Act likewise prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England. Once repressive legislation begins it must go on. Three years afterwards a similar embargo was put upon Irish beef, pork, bacon, butter, and cheese.

You will, therefore, understand, that by this time Ireland was prohibited exporting any of her staple manufactures to the Colonies. It has been alleged by Lord North that these steps were due to a dislike or jealousy of the growing power of the Duke of Ormonde, who from his great estates and possessions in Ireland was supposed to have a

personal interest in the prosperity of our country. This James, first Duke of Ormonde, whose memory will ever be revered as one of Ireland's truest and noblest sons, obtained from Charles II. a letter dated 23rd March, 1667, by which he commanded that all restraints upon the exportation of commodities of the growth and manufacture of Ireland to foreign parts, Colonies included, should at once be struck off. His Grace was further successful in prevailing upon the King that importation of linen, woollens, and other manufactures from Scotland into England should be stopped. Ireland would then seem to have a free field and full favour.

We must now revert to the previous reign, when we find Earl Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1634, writing to Charles I. as follows : " That all wisdom advises to keep this kingdom of Ireland as much subordinate and dependent upon England as possible, and holding them from the manufacture of wool, which, unless otherwise directed, I shall by all means discourage, and then enforcing them to fetch their clothing from thence and to take their salt from the King (being that which preserves and gives value to all their native commodities), for how can they depart from us without nakedness and beggary?" Can it be possible that hint from Strafford suggested England's future policy? In 1673, forty years afterwards (Charles II.'s reign), Sir William Temple, the Irish Viceroy, proposed that the manufacture of woollens should cease in Ireland, as tending to interfere prejudicially with English trade. The proposal had, however, no immediate effect, but in 1697 (twenty-four years after) the discussion reached a climax, and a Bill was introduced into the English House of Commons, passed in 1698, and ultimately made perpetual—in 1699—forbidding all exportation from Ireland to England, or elsewhere, of her woollen manufactures. This knocked our staple industry on the head forthwith, and opened one of the most painful epochs of Irish history.

Should any of my hearers be curious enough to learn the whole argument of England in support of this oppressive measure, and Ireland's reply thereto, he will find it in the last edition of Hely Hutchinson's "Commercial Restraints," pages 69 to 77, and 105 to 108. I am not aware that this writer's facts have ever been questioned, much less refuted, by any author, living or dead. I will simply give you the

last few lines of what he says : " But a monopoly, and not an equal market, was plainly the object of 1698. It was not to prevent the Irish from underselling at foreign markets, but to prevent them selling at all." Even Anthony Froude, who usually speaks bitterly of Ireland, says : " The early policy of England towards her Colonies seemed to have been that they should be solely administered for the benefit of the mother country."

Is it not wonderful how history repeats itself? At one time we find the Flemish and Walloons driven into exile by their Government, and introducing the woollen manufacture to England. In Elizabeth's reign, again, we find the Irish wool workers driven out by Parliament, finding homes in France, Germany, and Spain, carrying the woollen industry there to react to the detriment of England's products in her own markets. And what people form a sturdy factor in the great American Continent, which is now one of England's keenest competitors in the commercial world, but the Irish race, expatriated by misgovernment also?

The Linen trade generally up to this time was but a trifling industry, and, as an attempt to compensate Ireland for the loss of her woollen trade—in fact to substitute an experiment for a well-established business—England undertook to foster the former to the uttermost of her power. As William III. said in reply to an address from the House of Commons : " I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland and encourage the linen manufacture there, and to promote the trade of England." Now I wish you to understand that in narrating this story of the " dim past " I have no desire to unearth the hatchet so long buried, or to promote a political discussion. I must simply relate facts as I find them ; and in giving writers' opinions, etc., I quote almost entirely from men who would differ from me in political tenets. Eighty years after (1779), Lord Rockingham asks in the English House of Lords : " But how had England kept its word? By laying duties or granting bounties to the linens of British manufacture equal to the prohibition of the Irish, and at the same time giving every kind of private and public encouragement to render Scotland a real rival to Ireland in almost every species of her linen fabrics."

Now let me show you what discouraging such a manufacture

as this meant. A writer upon this subject, Dr. Smith, quotes a pamphlet in which it is said that the total value of those woollen products exported in 1697 was £23,614 9s. 6d., which, considering the value of gold at that time, would mean a vastly greater sum now. But even this figure is inadequate, as the Irish had not recovered above one-third of the woollen trade which they had before the wars of the English Revolution, therefore, dating back a little, we find that ten years before it was £70,000. Secondly—to make my illustration familiar—one pound in weight of wool is worth about 1s., and it may be roughly estimated as capable of producing one pound of a fairly good cloth. There are tweeds that go in price from 7s. to 8s. 6d. a yard wholesale, finer cloths from 14s. to 20s.; the red cloth for officers' uniforms costs a guinea a yard, and the scarlet fabric for a huntsman's coat 27s. a yard. Now, how is the pound of wool rendered so extremely valuable? By human labour! Leaving out of consideration those expensive kinds, let us take an ordinary common tweed at say 3s. per yard. One pound of wool making a yard of this cloth becomes tripled in value by labour. An average man requires about seven yards of cloth for a suit—this would be 21s. for the cloth—but, for argument's sake, suppose it costs 20s. There are 5,000,000 of people in Ireland, 2,000,000 of whom require (or should, if properly clad) two suits per annum, and so you have 4,000,000 suits in demand each year. These, at 20s. each, would cost £4,000,000, of which £2,666,666 is actual labour, and lost to us if the material is worked up elsewhere than in Ireland. Again, one pound of cotton, originally worth about 6d., will make 10s. worth of fine quality cotton stockings. In this case labour increased its value twenty-fold, and, calculating as before, we can see the value of the cotton industry. Two such incongruous things as a barrel of porter and a lace handkerchief afford similar illustrations, but, further than those going before, will enable you to compare one industry with another. The former article is sold at about a sovereign, but I don't suppose human labour contributes more than half-a-crown to its value; but by the latter article's production 1s. worth of material has attained a value of one sovereign.

From all this you will see that the industries we have lost were vastly more important than those left to us, and Eng-

land could hardly have been ignorant of the effects which must inevitably follow her destructive legislation. England, in the first instance, in Strafford's time, made an effort by means of bonuses to stimulate the Irish linen trade, and the arguments in her favour have been summed up as follows: First—She opened her great markets to the linen trade of Ireland. Second—She encouraged it by granting bounties. Third—She encouraged the exportation. Well, the truth is, with regard to the first, by admitting at very small duties the Dutch, German, and East Country linen, she actually encouraged these manufactories to undersell Ireland both in Great Britain and the West Indies, and several other parts of the Empire. So says Lord North. With regard to the bounties, by the Act 29, George II., chap. 15, it is enacted, "No Irish linen exported from England shall be entitled to a bounty if it were the property of a resident in Ireland." (Here is a premium on absenteeism.) Thirdly, The Irish could only get these bounties by exporting from an English port and paying the expenses incidental thereto. Is it any wonder we are not a great maritime people? In fact I can hardly give you a stronger statement than that of Mr. Lecky, who says, that "The Irish linen manufacturers were excluded virtually from England by the imposition of a duty of 30 per cent., and Ireland was not allowed to participate in the bounties granted for the exportation of the best description of linen from Great Britain to foreign countries."

Now, as to Irish Cotton manufactures. If they were imported into England they were subject to a duty of 25 per cent., while a statute of George III. enacted penalties for the wearing of such manufactures in Great Britain unless they were made there. Surely this was boycotting in its infancy. Dean Swift was, about this time, prosecuted by the Government for his first Irish pamphlet, entitled, "A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures." Glass, beer, malt, and, in fact, every industry poor Ireland started was, as it began to show a little strength or vitality, promptly strangled by English legislation. The fisheries, of whose history I hope to say a word or two some of these days, were, about the year 1700, attacked in a very singular manner. Two petitions were preferred from English traders or fishermen of Folkstone and Aldborough in Kent, stating a grievance they suffered from Ireland. It was the Irish catching

herring at Waterford and Wexford, and sending them to the Straits (of Dover, I presume), hereby forestalling and ruining the petitioners' markets. I merely mention this to show the extravagant ideas they had in these then remote parts of England of their power to ruin Irish commerce.

Now, the question will naturally be asked, how, in this general slaughter of Irish commercial efforts, the linen trade of Ulster has survived? In the first place, I would reply that nominally it received an immense amount of Government and national recognition, and was regarded as the *one* Irish industry. Everyone, therefore, was disposed to go into it (capital, having few outlets, was easily obtained), in fact, it was the fashion. In the second place, it was an industry peculiarly dependent upon the land, and I give you my opinion, and therefore only for what it is worth, that, but for the security of tenure and compensation for disturbance, coupled with free sale of the Tenant Right, in other words, the three F's, commonly known as the Ulster custom of land tenure, this great trade would be practically as lifeless as any of the other branches of Irish commerce. As the land agent of the late Marquis of Londonderry said, when giving evidence before the celebrated Devon Commission of 1843-45: "If you attempted to carry out a curtailment of Ulster Tenant Right you would soon have a Tipperary in county Down." And, thirdly, by the system of banking in the North the linen trade of Ulster has in recent times been favoured immensely—a system, indeed, not so good as the Scotch, but infinitely beyond anything we experience in the South or West. As Mr. Dennis rightly observes: "In Scotland a man's character, ability, knowledge, opportunities, and connections are regarded as equivalent to capital, and the Scotch banks regard it as their function to transmute it for him into money. That is the basis of their system of cash credits. Any man who can discover a paying channel for capital to flow in is a welcome visitor to the bank parlour. The Scotch banks receive and accommodate such visitors every day, and are among the soundest banks in the world." The North of Ireland system is closely allied to this.

The commercial position of Ireland about 1780 is most graphically described by Lord Dufferin: "Debarred from every trade and industry the entire nation flung itself back upon

the land with as fatal an impulse as when a river whose current is suddenly impeded rolls back and drowns the valley that it once fertilized." The land was then Ireland's sole resource and industry, but English interference could not even leave that free. Let us take Anthony Froude: "The tenants were forbidden in their lease to break"—that is plough up—"the soil; the people, no longer employed, were driven away into holes and corners, and eked out a wretched subsistence by potato gardens or by keeping starving cattle of their own on the neglected bogs. Their numbers increased, for they married early, and they were no longer liable, as in old times, to be killed off like dogs. They grew up in compulsory"—mark the word—"idleness. Of corn very little was grown in Ireland. The disgrace," continues Froude, "of allowing a race of human beings to subsist in such a condition forced itself at last upon the conscience of the Irish Parliament, and they submitted the heads of a Bill to the English House in 1716, 'that for every hundred acres which any tenant held he should be allowed to cultivate five.'" But what did England answer? An emphatic No! The English farmers were haunted with the terror of being undersold in their own and foreign markets by Ireland, where labour was cheap. "Corn," others said, "is supposed to be at so low a rate in Ireland in comparison with England that an encouragement to the exportation of it would prejudice English trade." And the Bill was lost. Let us conclude this portion with a quotation from Mr. Lecky: "No country ever exercised a more complete control over the destinies of another than did England over those of Ireland for three-quarters of a century after the Revolution of 1649. No serious resistance of any kind was attempted. The nation was as passive as clay in the hands of the potter, and it is a circumstance of peculiar aggravation that a large part of the legislation I have recounted was a distinct violation of a solemn treaty." "Lecky," (remarks Professor McNeill) "no doubt, here refers to the Treaty of Limerick."

Professor McNeill continues: "Some of the efforts to revive the dying industries of Ireland would appear ludicrous if they were not too sad. For example, in 1727 there was an Act to encourage the home consumption of wool by burying people in woollen raiment only. The custom, now grotesque and unmeaning, but still partially in vogue in

Ireland, of wearing scarves at funerals, was recommended in the interest of the linen manufacture, and was first introduced at the funeral of Mr. Connolly, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, in 1729." But these endeavours only suggest to us the deplorable condition to which the country was reduced. Mr. Lecky says of it: "One of the worst consequences of it was that for about the space of a century Ireland underwent a steady process of depletion, most men of energy, ambition, talent or character being driven from our shores, and this from a country whose population slightly exceeded two millions." Froude says: "Twenty thousand Puritans left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade." Naturally such valuable immigrants were welcomed by foreign countries, and we are informed that "notwithstanding that Louis XIV. had repealed the edict of Nantes, and forced abroad the French Protestants (many of whom came to England, and there established the silk manufactures), yet these Irish exiles—Protestants also—were kindly received by him, had great encouragement given them, and were protected in their religion." The Hon. Luke Gardiner said in 1784 that America was lost to Great Britain by Irish emigrants carrying their resentment across the ocean, and fighting in the ranks of the American army against England's soldiers; America gained her independence thereby.

Is it any wonder that in a country suffering such enforced commercial depression, crime and outrage should speedily become rife? On all sides secret societies speedily sprang up, and you will have observed how a very superficial study of Irish history shows that national movements have a great tendency to grow from trade and mercantile questions. Thus, the destruction of the woollen industry by the English Parliament led Irish politicians to question the right of that Parliament to legislate for Ireland at all. I am not going to touch the political aspect of the question; I simply desire to point out to you the intimate connection between these two elements in a nation's life, commerce and politics. To illustrate this I now proceed to give you some particulars of that great movement which ultimately won back for Ireland the commercial privileges she had been robbed of. The late Chief Justice Whiteside says: "A great figure now appears upon the stage of public life—Henry Grattan—who took his seat for Charlemont in December, 1775, and began his

splendid though chequered career. The condition of Ireland at that epoch was deplorable, her industry was shackled, her trade was paralyzed, her landed interest was depressed, her exchequer empty, her pension list enormous, her shores undefended, her army withdrawn, the policy and maxims of Swift were revived, a spirit of discontent and a spirit of independence pervaded the nation, the Colonies (America) had revolted, republican ideas were afloat in the world, and Ireland was menaced by invasion." The English Government, on being applied to for troops, declared that they had none to spare, and Ireland must protect herself. The Volunteer movement had its origin here. As Hussey Burgh says, "England had sowed serpents' teeth, and they had sprung up armed men."

The volunteering began in Belfast in August, 1778, and, as you are doubtless aware, was at first solely a Protestant organization. The defenceless character of our shores gave a *carte blanche* to the French and American privateers that were sweeping the British Channel, and in their alarm the people of Belfast petitioned the Castle of Dublin. The reply ran thus: "The great part of the troops being encamped near Clonmel and Kinsale, his Excellency can at present send no further military aid than a troop or two of horse and part of a company of invalids." The Volunteers enrolled 40,000 in three months, consisting of the nobility, gentry, merchants, citizens, and respectable yeomanry. At the Dungannon Convention the number was 75,000, and it is said eventually to have reached 90,000 men. When the scare of foreign invasion was laid, this powerful organization, which really had the Ministry at its mercy, resolutely turned its attention to a solution of its domestic trouble, and hence demanded free trade for Ireland. The Volunteer army was actually drawn up in battle array in the streets of Dublin, with cannon loaded and pointed at the Houses of Parliament (now the Bank of Ireland), a label on each gun bearing the inscription: "Free Trade, or . . ." Need I say the resolution was carried in the House in favour of free trade; there was but one dissentient vote—that of the then Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir R. Heron. Having these privileges restored to her necessarily involved legislative independence—previous parliaments having been shackled, in fact bound hand and foot by Poyning's law, which stipulated, in short,

that no measure could be introduced into the Irish Parliament that had not at first passed the English House. Mark, you, not even the reverse way. Poyning's law was the key-stone of Ireland's relation to England from Henry VIII. to the Union.

Ireland had now won in the contest after having been practically reduced to poverty of the most hopeless character, after having seen her millions die of want, her blood and sinew expatriated, and the books of her most prominent advocates—Hutchinson, Molyneux, and Swift—burnt at the Government's command by the common hangman. From 1782 until the Union in 1800 Ireland's prosperity grew beyond all expectation. Lord Clare, in 1798, said: "There is not a nation on the face of the habitable globe which had advanced in cultivation, commerce, and manufactures with the same rapidity in the same period as Ireland." Lord Plunkett, in the English House of Commons, said, shortly after the Union: "Ireland's revenue, her trade, and her manufactures had thriven beyond the hope or example of every other country of her extent within a few years before the Union with a rapidity astonishing even to herself." The Bankers of Dublin passed a resolution in 1798, as follows: "Resolved—That since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in 1782 to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this Kingdom have eminently increased, and that we can attribute these blessings, under Providence, to the wisdom of the Irish Parliament." In 1785, or three years after we got an independent Parliament and free trade, the exportation of Irish manufactures and produce, to England alone, amounted to two and a half millions sterling, and we bought of goods of English manufacture and produce about one million, the exchange being one and a half millions in our favour. But twelve years later, in 1797, or three years before the Union, the figures were—of linen and linen yarns alone we exported to Great Britain three million pounds' worth, while we sent provisions, cattle, etc., to the value of two and a half millions—say five and a half millions in all. Against that, we purchased of Great Britain two millions' worth of manufactured articles and produce; thus you will see the exchange was in our favour, three and a half millions against the one and a half millions, twelve years previously.

The commercial prosperity of Ireland was now made the

ground by England for the suggestion of a union of the British and Irish Parliaments at Westminster. England's argument was (of course quite unselfish as usual)—“Ireland is prosperous with her own legislature, but she will be trebly prosperous when she gives up that, or has it joined to the Parliament of England.” Let us see what truth there was in the argument, in other words, let us enquire can sufficient evidence be produced to prove that commerce and manufactures have continued to grow from that time to this. In 1800, in Dublin alone, there were 15,000 Silk Weavers fully employed—there are about 400 this moment. The Woollen trade employed 23,500 hands at an average of 30s. per week. I can only recollect about five or six mills now in and about Dublin which might employ about 2,000 hands. The Hat-making trade employed 850 hands—I don't believe there are 50 Hat-makers in Dublin now. The Hosiery trade employed 11,000. Is there any Hosiery made in Dublin now? Ribbon weaving, 13,000 hands: men, at 35s. a week; women, at 14s. a week. Curriers, 200, at £3 a week, and so on. If we have some other industries instead of these it is no argument for general prosperity. The Woollen industry had centres at Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Bandon, Kilkenny, Carrick-on-Suir. Cotton industry—Dublin, Drogheda, Callan, Limerick, Bandon, etc. Hosiery—Belfast, Lisburn, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Dundalk. Where are all these industries now? Alas! Echo answers—Where! And, in this connection, I would ask: Where are the 98 Irish Peers and a proportionate number of wealthy commoners who inhabited the city of Dublin prior to the Union, who kept their complete establishments there, and spent their rents where they could enrich the land from whence they were drawn, instead of filling the coffers of the already opulent London shopkeepers? The amount spent out of Ireland has been estimated at something like three to four millions per annum. What country of the size of Ireland could have withstood this constant hemorrhage for over three-quarters of a century without being bankrupt long ago?

Upon looking over Mr. Mulhall's celebrated “Fifty Years of National Progress” (retrogression as far as Ireland is concerned), I find that Irish emigration since 1837 has amounted to a number equal to 84 per cent. of the present population;

he tabulates it from 1837 to 1886, and for the 49 years shows that 4,186,000 people left our shores, which is equal to 85,424 per year, or more than double the population of Limerick city, or three times that of Waterford. Let me ask you to imagine that twice a year our American liners were to come into the Shannon and transport every living soul in this city consisting of 40,000 persons. The United States Government (and I think you will give them credit for knowing the value of their "almighty dollar") value these emigrants at £200 per head, who in their own country are regarded as little better than Hottentots and a nuisance. Mr. Mulhall proceeds: "Existing Irish settlements abroad and the estimated wealth in their possession show that the bulk of the emigrants were good citizens of thrifty and industrious habits. In one generation 4,000,000 emigrants who left home penniless have become possessed of real and personal property to the amount of £665,000,000 sterling, besides having sent home to their friends a sum of £32,000,000." The two amounts put together would nearly pay the entire British National Debt, which last year stood at £700,000,000. Please realize this. Referring again to Mr. Mulhall's statement, I have finally calculated that emigration robs this country to the tune of £17,000,000 sterling per year.

Now, if industries have continued to grow unchecked from the Union to the present, can you account for the fact, as vouched for by Government returns, that six hundred thousand persons were in receipt of Poor Law relief in Ireland at the end of 1881? If the Union produced trade and commerce, how is it that at that year more than one in every nine of the population was a pauper? In the *Nineteenth Century* for March Mr. Giffen, an indisputable authority, says: "The taxable income and capital of Great Britain have increased enormously, and those of Ireland hardly at all. Ireland, in population, has sunk from one-third to one-seventh of Great Britain; in gross income, from two-seventeenths to one-seventeenths of the United Kingdom. Ireland's national debt was, in 1797, under £4,000,000 sterling. Shortly after the Union, her fiscal system was united with England's, and 1815 saw Ireland's debt £128,000,000; and in two years more (1817) it amounted to £150,000,000. In 1841 the taxation per head was 9s. 6½d.; in 1871 it was £1 6s. 1d., or nearly three times as much. Ireland, while

constituting about one-twentieth of the United Kingdom in resources, nevertheless pays from one-eleventh to one-tenth of the taxes, or about twice as much as her proper share." Mr. Giffen is an Englishman. A very able pamphlet entitled "Imperial Taxation," by Sir Joseph Neile McKenna, formerly chairman of the National Bank, contains much information on this important subject.

With one observation I shall close this, the historical portion of my paper. It must be acknowledged that from 1790 to 1826—that is from ten years before the Union to twenty-six years after it—the exports and imports of this country were doubled, and, as a good deal has been made of these figures, I desire to tell you what they really mean. How many of the good things implied in the doubling imports and exports even in the thirty-six years were enjoyed by the people themselves? What was the nature of the exports and imports? The former were mostly beef, mutton, pork, and butter; the latter tea, coffee, and sugar. The people were, therefore, exporting more of their good, solid, nutritious food than they could spare and supplying its place by such artificialities as tea and coffee. Among the actual peasantry beef and mutton were almost as unknown, as an article of diet, as among the Hindoos. It must also be remembered that the French wars ending 1815 gave an unnatural stimulus to Irish trade; but the artificial prices then created ceased with the war—not so the rents raised on account of the war. Here, no doubt, is the origin of the modern Irish land question. During and after the Napoleonic wars in 1815, the imports and exports greatly increased, but the reaction set in a few years afterwards.

We learn from the Devon Commission, which sat in 1843, that the country was reduced to the last condition of penury—(in fact the Demon Famine stalked the land in 1846 and 1847)—and yet the Government took no action on the recommendation of this Commission until the famine was on them. Of the awful scenes of this famine and the cholera which followed it I doubt not you have heard or read. When a lad I often heard my father speak of the horrors of this visitation. It is estimated that the famine swept off 1,200,000 souls. I have previously told you how the famines of this country were artificial, not natural, and here is an illustration. An eloquent writer thus puts it :

"It was only the potato that rotted, and there was plenty of other produce in the country if the people had only eaten it, but they sold their produce, paid their rents, and died." It appears from a return presented to Parliament on the 18th July, in the year 1849, that during the three famine years—1846, 1847, and 1848—the return being made up to the 5th January, 1849—Ireland paid altogether in taxes to the British Exchequer no less a sum than £13,293,681, while her starving people exported to England for rent to absentees 595,000 head of cattle, 840,000 sheep, 959,000 quarters of wheat-flour, 700,000 swine, and 3,600,000 quarters of oats and meal, and the return blandly states "the estimate of exports is necessarily defective." The population was only 8,000,000, and the soil of Ireland, according to Sir Robert Kane in his "Industrial Resources," is capable of supporting 20,000,000 souls. The London *Times*, in an article which appeared on the 26th June, 1845, says: "The facts of Irish destitution are ridiculously simple; they are almost too commonplace to be told. The people have not enough to eat; they are suffering a real, although an artificial famine. Nature does her duty. The land is fruitful enough, nor can it be fairly said that man is wanting. In fact man and Nature together do produce abundantly. The land is full and overflowing with human food. But something ever interposes between the hungry mouth and the ample banquet. The famished victim of a mysterious sentence stretches out his hands to the viands which his own industry has placed before his eyes, but no sooner are they touched than they fly. A perpetual decree of *sic vos non vobis* condemns him to toil without enjoyment. Social atrophy drains off the vital juices of the nation." The Legislative efforts of England to improve Irish industries since that period have been of a trivial and temporary nature. Witness our Fisheries, and few of us will not concur with Mr. Chaplin, when he says from his place in the House of Commons, "I cannot think that any reform or remedial legislation which may be adopted can be considered satisfactory or complete which does not include encouragement, and, if necessary, assistance, for the re-establishment of those industries which in former days were destroyed by the bitterly unjust and selfish policy of England."

And now I should like to tell you a little child's story I

learnt at my mother's knee—alas! a long time ago. Tom Browne was a little boy who, like many other little boys, was sometimes disobedient, and his father, to show him how very naughty he was, drove a nail in the post of the back door every day Tom misbehaved. Well, before long, the post was studded with nails. The father brought out Master Tom, and showed him the post, and asked him was he not ashamed of himself—which indeed he was—and Tom there and then vowed he would be a good boy in the future, and the father promised he would take a nail out of the post every day Tom was good. Time rolled on, and by sheer persistence in well-doing, Tom earned the extraction of all the nails. One day his father called him and said, “Look here, Tom, all the nails are gone; you have been a good boy indeed.” Then the boy looked sad, and the father said, “Well, Tom, what is the matter?” “Father, the nails are gone, but the marks of them are still left.”

How little has been done to obliterate the sad marks left by English legislation upon Irish trade can be seen in the history of many industries. I propose to examine a few of them in my next paper, and hope to be able to show where our present methods are at fault, and where they may be improved. At the same time, I shall not shock political proclivities by a display of any sympathy with the tenets of this or that party, but endeavour to point out such improvements as seem to me necessary no matter under what regime we are destined to live. In this I trust to receive your support, and as most of us are engaged in commercial pursuits, a little attention to their principles can hardly be thrown away or so regarded. I feel I have wearied you by reverting to the past, but if the study of history means anything it is that we should “learn from the wisdom of age” to perfect the present and frame the future. As an American poet puts it:—

Standing on what too long we bore,
 With shoulders bent and downcast eyes
 Let us discern—unseen before—
 The path to higher destinies.
 Nor deem the irrevocable past,
 As wholly wasted, wholly vain,
 If, rising on its wrecks at last,
 To something nobler we attain.



II.

PRESENT ASPECTS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF IRISH TRADE.

“ In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle,
Be as heroes in the strife.”—*Longfellow.*

THOSE of you who were present at the reading of my first paper may possibly remember that in the closing words I proposed to trace the marks left by English legislation upon some of our industries.

THE IRISH FISHERIES.

For my illustration, let me take a brief glance at that more than neglected important industry, the Irish Fisheries. To all foreigners and visitors to our shores it has always been a startling fact that so many millions of wealth should lie untouched within our very grasp, especially as this small island has a coast line of 2,500 miles, indented with some of the finest harbours in the world. As a cause of the neglect of this great opportunity, one writer suggests our Celtic origin; yet the Cornishmen, Manxmen, and Argylemen, the best fishermen in the United Kingdom, are certainly Celtic peoples. The fishermen of St. Pierre and Miquelon, two islands in the St. Lawrence, and the Colony of Claddagh, near Boston, U.S. (an offshoot of the old Claddagh, county Galway), brave the Atlantic waves in their carraghs of hoops and canvas. Other writers have attributed our inability for this enterprise to other natural shortcomings; but I trust that the sketch of our commercial history, which I previously had the honour of submitting to you has gone far to show that our apparent deficiencies have been the effect of external influence. Early in the seventeenth

century we read that Wexford alone *exported* 100,000 barrels of herrings per annum, and if our national characteristics have undergone any deteriorating change since then, it must surely be due to the foreign blood which successive English invasions have imported. In that same century, of such value were our fishing grounds that the Dutch paid Charles I. £30,000 for the privilege of fishing on our west coast, and Philip II. of Spain offered £1,000 a year for the fishing of the northern coast. After the disastrous period of the Revolution of 1649, it was found necessary for our very *support to import* herrings from England and Scotland, but a slight assistance was given by Parliament in 1764 of a *bounty* of 2s. 4d. per barrel, *exported* (but of which, through political jobbery, only 10½d. reached the merchant). These bounties gave the industry such an impetus that in twenty-two years not only could we supply our own wants, but we *exported* cured herrings to the amount of 60,000 barrels per annum, our largest export up to the Union (1800).

After the Union the sea fishery began to decline, in part, owing to the general decay of manufacturing industries after the Napoleonic wars; partly to the fishermen's fear of the press gang; partly, again, to the fact that in the eleven years following the Union £21,000 was paid to *encourage the importation* into Ireland of British and Colonial cured fish, and under £4,000 to encourage the *exportation* of Irish cured fish. Here is plain odds of 5 to 1 against Ireland. The foregoing is the statement of Professor Sullivan, the existing President of the Queen's College, Cork. We consequently find, in the year 1819, only 27 vessels and 188 men engaged in the Irish sea fishery. A Board of twenty unpaid Commissioners was then appointed (for ten years), whose functions were the construction and improvement of harbours and the granting of bounties upon the capture, curing, and exporting of fish. Inspectors likewise superintended the branding of the herrings and the industrial education of the fishermen. Mark the effect. *In two years the 27 vessels increased to 4,800, and the 188 men to 21,400.* Further, when in 1829 the Commission was about to suspend operations, there were 12,600 boats and 63,400 men employed in this trade. I mention this fact to show you how readily our people have responded to so slight a stimulus as £250,000, distributed over an immense extent of space and time; and I say it

redounds to the credit of any people that in ten short years the fishermen should have multiplied three hundred and thirty-fold, and the number of their craft four hundred and sixty-fold. Well, in 1830, the bounty system was universally discontinued, but as much has been made of the fact that Scotland and England have since prospered, while Ireland has retrograded, I wish to draw a contrast between Scotland and this country. Scotland, in the first place, had been much longer favoured by this arrangement than had Ireland—in fact a recent writer (Dennis) remarks that “whereas in Scotland the fishermen had enjoyed the bounties for about three score years, and had been firmly put upon their legs, the Irish fishermen enjoyed them for only three years.” Scotland, too, still retained a fishery board, a Government Branding system (a most important matter), and £500 a year for the repair of boats. Moreover, from 1829 to 1844, Scotland received a Government Grant of £200,000 for her fisheries, while Ireland had only £13,000 to *finish the work of the retiring Commissioners*. From 1838 to 1852 three attempts were made to secure legislative favour, but owing to Scottish jealousy they were frustrated. We even applied for a Government Brand as enjoyed by Scotland, but were refused by a large majority of the House of Commons, consisting of Englishmen and Scotchmen, for I think I am right in saying the Irish members were unanimous in this demand. In 1869 three Fishery Inspectors were appointed, but no public money was placed at their disposal until 1874, when Mr. Butt obtained the transfer of the Irish Reproductive Fund of £43,000 for the advancement of loans to fishermen, etc. This, with an augmentation from another fund, placed a sum of £73,000 in the inspectors’ hands. It is just here to acknowledge the eminent services of these three gentlemen who have certainly accomplished everything possible with so small a sum; but at the same time it is hard to see Manxmen, Frenchmen, Scotchmen, and others deriving wealth from this harvest of the sea before the very eyes of our famishing and compulsorily idle people.

But a ray of hope is peeping above the horizon. If Amsterdam, as was once said, had its foundation in herring bones, we have a little town in the south of Ireland which surely has its foundation in mackerel bones. You, of course, have read how much has been recently done by the

Baroness Burdett-Coutts, whom I may call the *Lady Bountiful of Baltimore*, in devoting a capital sum of £10,000 for loans to the fishermen there ; and this as no philanthropic speculation, inasmuch as she receives no interest whatever, the principal being utilised again and again in fresh loans to new individuals. I have not heard of a single instance in which the instalments have not been faithfully paid. Sir Thomas Brady, in his report, lays great emphasis on this gratifying fact. The older I get, I cannot help being more impressed with the amazing honesty of the poorer classes in Ireland. I know it is the fashion, now-a-days, to decry poor Paddy, and denounce him as a swindler and a cheat ; but I speak of a man as I find him, and have considerable experience of the working classes of our countrymen. Let those who malign us as a lazy, inert people find a fitting answer in a visit to little Baltimore to-day. They will see there a very hive of industry ; hundreds of men earning 25s. a week, and scores 30s. and upwards. The large number of buyers who attend there during the fishing season can barely find suitable accommodation. It has its telegraph station, and a line of steamers waiting to carry its fish to New Milford, and thence, via Gloucester, to every town and hamlet in England. But more—from want of technical education in the curing, drying, and smoking, fish were, until very recently, actually imported into Baltimore itself for general consumption. But Irish enterprise, once aroused, was equal to the occasion, and now this little corner of the world can boast of the first fishery school in the United Kingdom, capable of accommodating 300 boys, some of whom, no doubt, attracted your attention at the recent exhibition at Olympia, London. What was Baltimore ten years ago ? A squalid fishing village—*without the fish*. Poverty and starvation threatened its indigent people, until, as I have said, one great, good woman came upon the scene. With a principal of £10,000, which, put into Consols, would not yield £300 a year, what has not been done ?

It is a standing reproach to the British Government, and I allude to no party in particular, to allow this splendid fishing industry of Ireland to remain undeveloped. See what America is doing for her fisheries. With that practical forethought which eagerly seizes every means of promoting national wealth, the United States employs between twenty

and thirty skilled naturalists, for whose use is provided a complete marine laboratory, several fish-hatching establishments, and a large steam vessel, costing over £60,000, for making observations round the coast. In two years she spent £40,000 in the development of this industry. Will you believe, Mr. President, that at the present moment, *there does not exist a chart of the deep sea fisheries of Ireland?* It is all very fine to talk of individual private enterprise, but private enterprise cannot construct charts for public use. And if a trifle of the money spent upon excursions to the North Pole were devoted to commercial enterprise (nay, *food* itself) nearer home, we should see a marked diminution in our mortality and poor-rate returns. Without going further into this great subject, which would require and deserve a paper by itself, I will simply remark that the Irish fisheries depend in the future upon Government subsidy, scientific investigation, and the construction of some light railways to carry the fish rapidly to distant markets. The western coast of Ireland, Galway and Mayo, would require the most powerful type of fishing vessel, capable of keeping the sea for several days, at a distance of seventy or eighty miles from land—such, indeed, as those now in use at Yarmouth and Grimsby, which cost from £1,000 to £2,000 each. You will, therefore, understand Professor Sullivan when he says that a permanent fishing industry as a source of *constant* employment and national profit is not to be accomplished by anything less than a capital of two or three millions of money. This fact will dispel the prejudices of any of my hearers who feel strongly against an appeal to Government aid. How much the better are you and I for the millions, not counting human lives, expended upon our recent wars in Egypt and South Africa? These little luxuries cost us £15,000,000, one-tenth of which would have gone far to put the Irish fisheries upon a sound workable basis. I have not said a word upon the minor industries dependent upon sea fisheries. First among them is the building of boats; most of those owned and sailed by Irish fishermen have been built in the Isle of Man, Penzance, and elsewhere in England. Why should this be so? A few built at Skibbereen not long ago turned out very well. If a dozen or so of good first-class boats, say like those of Grimsby, costing about £1,000 each, were annually built in Cork Harbour, £5,000 at least would be

spent there in wages. In the second place, the manufacture of rope, twine, fishing-nets, and sail-cloth, would be enormously stimulated, and in our own hands. Net-making would provide a vast amount of female employment.

Another department under this heading I cannot pass over—Oyster Culture by similar methods to those adopted by the French in collecting the spat upon stones, and afterwards breeding and fattening them. At Arcachon, in South-West France, the yield is 216,000,000 oysters per year, worth £170,000. The annual consumption in England is computed at £4,000,000 worth, and the demand is only limited by the supply. I shall close these rather lengthy remarks upon our fisheries by a quotation from Dennis, anent the less aristocratic but succulent mussel: “It was an *Irishman* named Walton who first introduced mussel cultivation into France, where there are now regular mussel-farms worked on his principle. Walton first lived by netting wild fowl, and he observed that on the poles to which his nets were fixed the mussels which had attached themselves were larger and fatter than those on the mud. He therefore took to erecting poles specially for collecting these bivalves, and since then the trade has grown to such an extent that the mussel-farms are supporting three independent districts in France.” This shows what can be done by a little observation and enterprise even by a “mere Irishman.”

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. In approaching the next division of my paper—a short survey of Agricultural Products—I wish to state at the outset, I regard the great question of landlord and tenant as beyond my sphere. That must receive its solution at an early date “*in another place.*” Yet, as a humble citizen, interested in neither landlords nor tenants, but of extensive acquaintance, and even friendship, with both classes, I would like to observe that time has confirmed my conviction that there should have been a greater spirit of “give and take” on both sides; and I have reason to believe that, had modern methods of arbitration, which have been successfully employed between the most powerful nations, been accepted by the upper, and, presumably, intelligent class, they would have been gladly embraced by the humbler disputant. It is to be deplored that unwise counsels prevailed—where

suaviter in modo might have saved the position, *fortiter in re* lost it. Men who for years preserved friendly relations and reciprocated respect were for the want of timely intervention, at each other's throat. *Facilis descensus Averni*. It may be replied that the Land Courts were arbitrators ; but it must be remembered that an arbitrator should always enjoy the mutual esteem of the litigants. Has this been so ? I trow not.

From so many subjects included under the
 IRISH head of Agricultural Products it is difficult to
 BUTTER. make anything like a consecutive selection, but I
 trust I am not far wrong in first inviting your
 attention to Irish Butter. The transition from recent depression to the present promising times is a revolution that has slowly and steadily worked itself out. A short time ago, you will recollect Irish Butters' quality and therefore prices were far below those of foreign competitors. Had we effected timely change in the methods of manipulating and packing this product, the last disastrous crisis might have been averted, and money and markets saved. By a general adoption of the Creamery system—co-operation amongst farmers in distant localities, and by the dissemination of technical education as illustrated in the case of the Munster Dairy School in Cork, I think this industry would bid fair to defy competition. Under proper management we can make the best Butter in the world ; but it is truly lamentable that we do not appear to discover our capabilities for improvement until disaster has made it imperative. I cannot honestly blame the poor tenant, who, with limited means, and utterly devoid of technical education, could not be expected to know more than his father did ; but I do blame those of wealth, intelligence, culture, and social position, who have leisure and opportunity to perform these duties to their country, and, if the difference between the classes and the masses means anything, it is simply *this*. All honour, then, to those few members of our aristocracy who have stood Leonidas-like in the gap to stem the tide of adversity which threatened to overwhelm their fellows. But, the moral to be derived from the past as regards this industry, is : "A stitch in time saves nine." As I shall refer later on to the effect of Railway rates on our industries generally, I need only suggest them here in connection with the Butter trade.

I have often been struck—I am an old Poultry fancier—with the idea that some of our poor light land, held by small farmers, would be greatly benefited by the establishment of small Poultry Farms thereon. This has been done to a great extent in America and Holland ; and our climate is much superior for the purpose. The location of the enclosures in which the Poultry are confined should, I may add, be constantly changed (as shepherds remove their sheep-pens)—a method alike beneficial to the birds and the soil. When I tell you that England's importation of Eggs from the Continent of Europe amounts to 1,000,000,000 in number, and £3,000,000 money value, you require no further argument for the development of our home production. A Mr. Edward Brown, 9 New Bridge Street, London, E.C., is at present distributing gratuitously throughout Ireland a number of high-bred Fowl for the purpose of encouraging the poorer classes to rear them, and I would recommend anyone interested to communicate with him.

As far as breeding the best style of animal—I think we are fairly well off in this respect ; but one great loss to Ireland is that fat Cattle, Sheep, and Swine are shipped alive to England and slaughtered there. Considering the long sea passage (from Limerick to Liverpool, thirty-six hours), for example, and the great deterioration in value caused thereby, it has been calculated that 30s. is lost upon every beast shipped, which amounts to a loss to Ireland annually of £1,000,000 sterling without profit to anyone. If you have ever crossed from Waterford to Bristol, or Dublin to Liverpool, in bad weather, you will have seen what these poor animals suffer. Moreover, Ireland loses by the live transit the raw material of several remunerative industries—to wit—the hides we could tan into leather, the horns convert into hafts of knives, buttons, and combs, the bones into a thousand different things, the tallow into soap and candles, the hoofs into such things as jelly and jujubes, and the refuse into glue. All these productions are manufactured for us in England and sent back to us for a consideration. Why cannot the meat be transported to England dead—during hot weather in artificially chilled chambers, such as are in daily use for American and Australian meats, thus

POULTRY
AND
EGGS.

DEAD MEAT,
BEEF,
MUTTON,
PORK.

effecting a threefold saving—first, 40 per cent. reduction on the actual weight carried ; secondly, 30s. per head in deterioration ; and, thirdly, the raw material of the small manufactures to which I have referred ? To any of my hearers who may be interested in the Artificial Refrigeration Process I shall be happy to show a Patented invention of my own now at work, which, with a little modification, would be applicable to the transportation of dead meats in railway wagons and steamers. Look at the immense amount of wool leaving this country on the sheep's back, which is wrought up by the English workman, whom ultimately we have to pay.

The bulk of Ireland's produce of this article is grown **FLAX.** in Ulster, and it would, no doubt, also be in the other provinces were model farms established, each of which would be the centre of a flax *factor* system similar to that of Belgium, by which the crop is bought green as it stands from the farmer who grows it, the pulling and saving being treated as a separate matter. Now, Flax is a crop that requires the highest skill during growth and saving, is very exhausting to the soil unless a proper rotation is observed, and is, in fact, the very converse of the potato. The Flax collected at these centres in Belgium is given out in small quantities to be hand-scutched by the cottagers in the winter months. Flax culture is one of the greatest labour-affording industries of the farm, and it is a great pity that at least three-quarters of a million of money is sent out of Ireland every year to purchase that article from Belgium. But this cannot be looked for until the Ulster farmer, and his provincial brother, have, through technical education, been made more perfect masters of their business. Troublesome as it is, Flax will ordinarily produce £20 an acre, which in these times is not to be despised.

The growth of Beetroot and the manufacture of sugar **BEEET.** therefrom, has been put forward as one of the industries which should prove the salvation of Ireland. Professor Sullivan, in his evidence before Sir Eardly Wilmot's Royal Commission on Irish Industries, expressed a strong opinion that its cultivation and manufacture into sugar would pay ; but Professor Galloway, of Dublin, an equally great authority, produced just as powerful arguments that it would not pay. Leaving these gentlemen to fight the matter out on professional grounds, I will simply suggest, as a plain

business man, that it is useless our trying to compete with countries such as France and Germany, whose governments subsidize this industry, and thus enable the manufacturers to sell sugar in England and Ireland actually under first cost or less than it would cost us to produce. We have numerous industries lying dormant, whose resuscitation under care and skill would be certain to pay. Why, then, invest our capital and time in a more than doubtful enterprise?

FRUIT GROWING. Ireland, especially the south, is highly adapted for the growth of bush Fruit and strawberries, and as such remarkable success has attended the sale of preserved Fruits made into jams by Scotch and other firms, I cannot see why this industry should not be prosecuted here. In one instance in Kent, in a few years, £10,000 was actually obtained from cherries alone, and thousands of acres in England are under Fruit cultivation. An acre of bush Fruit should yield, on an average, about £40; the expenses of cultivation would be half that sum, which would leave £20 to pay rent and profit. An acre, statute, of strawberries has been known to yield £110, but the gross average return may be taken at £60 per acre for a strawberry crop. There are no official returns of Irish Fruit crops. I know the Irish farmer has been under the apprehension that if he showed any signs of prosperity, of even comfort, or ability to increase the earning power or value of his holding, that the inevitable rise of rent would follow. Things will not be always thus, and, when the desolating breath of insecurity of tenure no longer poisons the spring of his industry, the valuable source of wealth we are now discussing will not be neglected.

JAM MAKING. As to Jam Making—we can have sugar about as cheap as the British manufacturer. We have cheaper labour, and as the weight of the usual jam crock is about half that of its contents, the great difference of cost of transit should tell in our favour. The reduced risk in breakage, too, is an important item. I am glad to see the initiative taken by two, if not more, Dublin firms, who are turning out a nice article and deserve popular support. It makes no extravagant demand upon a man's patriotism to call upon him to consume the products of his own country in preference to those from elsewhere—and the shopkeeper will of necessity respond to

public taste and demand. As a case in point I will relate an incident which came under my own knowledge and for which I can vouch.

A commercial traveller for an English house, in
BRUSHES. the Brush trade, came into a certain establishment in this city, and exhibited samples of English-made Brushes, quoting the prices, etc. The shop proprietor, being busy at the moment, asked the traveller to leave the samples and quotations, and call again. After he had gone, a small local brushmaker came in, and, seeing the sample Brushes on the counter, inquired of the shopkeeper whence they came, and what was the price of them. The shopkeeper told him, and he replied, "I could give you the same article much cheaper than that;" and, to satisfy his doubt, he pulled out his knife, took off the back of the Brush, and showed the shopkeeper—his own name. The Brush was actually made in Limerick by the poor local man, and sold in quantity to the London firm, for, to secure Limerick patronage, it required a London trade mark on it.

Instead of folding our arms and sitting
SUPPORT IRISH down bemoaning our poverty or ill-luck, if
MANUFACTURE. we would, one and all, determine to eat, drink, wear, and use, all such articles as Ireland can produce, the revival of trade in a few years would be astounding. We must not forget that trade would react, and there would be reciprocity all round. Capital in circulation necessarily benefits anyone who touches it.

I cannot leave the consideration of these natural
POTATO. products without adverting to that remarkable tuber, the Potato. I know that eminent writers like Mr. Cobden and Sir Dominic Corrigan have inveighed against the Potato, as being, like money, the *root* of all evil, and that Pat should have divided his attention with other crops in the rotation thereof. Admitting that there is something in this contention, it does not embrace everything. Pat is ignorant perforce, and if he does not understand the science of his farming, it is perhaps because he has not been taught it. The necessity of Potato Culture must be accepted for the present, and for some years to come, as a stubborn fact, but might I enquire what has been done by the public departments to insure good Potato-seed for the future for any localities that may be re-visited by the blight such as we

experienced in 1879 and 1880? Is private charity again to be invoked when distress of this kind occurs? And here we observe the absolute necessity of a Ministry of Agriculture, whose business it would be to look after seed and like things. Let me give you an idea how matters are worked in Denmark. Sir George Colthurst, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, said: "I think we are the most backward country in Europe in agriculture. Perhaps I may be allowed to say a word upon the question of seed. Happening to be in Belfast, I went into a large seed merchant's, and seeing a package of seed which he said was especially fine, I asked him where was he sending it to? and he said to Denmark. I asked, 'why do you not send some of that seed to the South of Ireland?' 'Oh,' said he, 'we only send you the sweepings of the hay loft.' I then enquired, 'why do you send the best you have to Denmark?' To which he replied, 'we do no *dare* send anything but the best there.' I said, 'how do you account for that?' He replied, 'simply that the Government have seed stations there. Those to whom we consign the seed are members of the seed stations, and our trade would be gone if we sent any bad seed to Denmark.'" Sir George further added that the United States of America Government regularly made experiments with seeds, which they thought would suit certain localities, by sending the samples to good farmers in various States to be tried. Neighbouring farmers could see the result of the trials and adopt the seed if it proved satisfactory and suitable to the district. Sir George's Belfast experience finds, I am glad to think, little application in our own city, where, from what I see and hear, some of the best seed in the world is procured. I simply quote it as evidencing one of the thousand and one uses of a Ministry of Agriculture.

Great efforts have been made recently to revive
 WOOL. our Woollen industry, whose history and value to this country I traced in my former paper, and such is the sterling character of our work that Irish Woollen goods are rapidly making their way in home and foreign markets. There is a growing disposition to purchase Irish cloth. The public are beginning to find out that the complete absence of adulteration enables our productions to wear better and stand the test of time against all comers, for Irish Woollens, no matter how light, or even poor, in

texture, are absolutely pure wool and free from shoddy. For a long time the want of novel designs, as in the case of the Poplin manufacture, impeded our progress. While we were working on the old stereotyped patterns our British and Continental competitors were tempting the public with new designs in an inferior fabric. Hence the immediate absolute necessity of establishing schools of design, which have done so much for the advancement of manufactures in general, and textile in particular, elsewhere. And it is to these institutions that at least our Woollen, Poplin and Lace industries must look for the future. As I have alluded to Poplin, might I suggest the making of lighter and somewhat cheaper textures, for we can hardly expect our ladies in this active age to clothe themselves in so heavy a material. A manufacturer of clothing cannot fight against the goddess Fashion. We pay England and foreigners £15,000,000 sterling per year for fabrics. Could not much of this be kept at home? Without doubt we have lost temporarily our Limerick Lace-making solely from want of the designs. However, we hope to put that right before long.

As to Cotton industries, I fear, as far as *calico* is COTTON. concerned, the time has arrived to write its epitaph.

Manchester and district have almost a monopoly of this department, and the Manchester Ship Canal will further help Cottonopolis, as it is called, to keep control of it. The trade of Balbriggan, county Dublin, in Hosiery, has been almost ruined by dishonest competition from England and abroad. Until the recent Mercantile Marks Act checked the fraud, these foreign manufacturers actually marked their inferior goods with the word "Balbriggan," and they were sold as if manufactured in that town. Let us hope the legislation has stopped this shameful abuse, but the monster "Adulteration" is easier scorched than killed. Poor as we are, Ireland has seldom been beaten by foreign rivalry unless some such trickery as this was resorted to. We should all heartily welcome an extension of the principle of the Margarine Act to all Irish products and manufactures. It behoves every man in every industry—farmers included—to have his wares protected as far as possible against fraudulent imitation and unfair competition. The general public are deeply interested in the matter also. To my own knowledge the margarine or butterine trade has almost ceased to

exist. I know one factory which has given up making it and turned its attention to more legitimate productions. The public were evidently in ignorance buying the margarine as butter ; but, directly it was properly labelled, and the spade called a spade, they declined to have it at any price. The trades of brewing, distilling, ship-building (in Belfast), and the cured provisions, I think we may take as quietly but steadily progressive. Their processes, if not in advance of others employed elsewhere, are certainly abreast of the times. Three of these four great industries are natural and allied to the soil ; and, passing from them, perhaps I may be allowed to say a word as to the *soil* itself.

ARTERIAL DRAINAGE. The great problem of the Arterial Drainage of Ireland has been under consideration by the ablest scientists for the past 150 years, and seems as far as ever from solution. This is to be regretted, for Professor Tyndall says it would raise the temperature of this country four degrees Fahrenheit all the year round, and be of immense advantage not only to the land itself but the human constitution and climatic influences. On Arterial Drainage depends largely the reclamation of four to six million acres of land, half of which could be tilled and half planted upon a small scale. Something has been attempted by several landowners, but it is a vast scheme dependent upon far more than individual or even concerted private effort. Other and poor nations are great examples to us in this respect. The Dutch cultivated and drained the whole Haarlem Meer with a vote from their Parliament of £860,000, and they have embarked upon an undertaking for the reclamation of half a million acres of the Zuyder Zee, which will produce to the State a profit of about £12 to £15 an acre:—Reclamation costing £18 an acre, and the selling value of the reclaimed land being £34. Save and except a reclamation at Sunk Island, in the estuary of the Humber, and some small works at the mouth of the Fergus, county Clare, and at Ballyteige, county Wexford, the English Government has done nothing of this sort.

At one time, it is evident, Ireland was REAFFORESTATION. covered by immense forests, and the climate much more genial and healthful than in modern times. The wood was used in many industries, and very largely in the smelting of iron, which

latter product we exported to England. But the destruction has gone on at the rate of 1,000 acres a year, while the re-planting was almost *nil*. The result is, we are denuded of one of the most important materials of all industry, and it is not extravagant to say that if due care had been taken of the forests as they stood two hundred years ago, Ireland would now have a property of one hundred millions of money in its woods and forests alone. Time would fail me to speak of the manifold advantages of reafforestation. But to mention a few: shelter afforded to man and beast; avoidance of inundations; the moderation of violent winds and storms; the prevention of the silting up of our rivers by the binding action of the roots of trees on the soil; and last, but not least, the wood itself, which human labour could convert into articles of daily use and requirement. For manufacturing and other purposes we have to *import* wood; and there are our waste lands lying idle—derelict—useless. It has been proved that for an outlay of from £3 to £8 an acre the land could be prepared, planted and fenced; that the returns would pay the accumulated interest thereon after a few years—in fact, in twenty years the acre would be worth about £20 to £30, and the thinnings would have gone meantime to pay part of the accruing interest. The value of wood to all sorts of industries is incalculable, and there are few, if any, that can do without it.

There are in Germany entire districts wholly dependent for their living upon the forests and contingent wood industries. In Switzerland thousands live by wood-carving. But take the small district of Sonneberg, in Germany. It is about six miles square, on the skirts of the Thuringian Forest, and in that small compass there are 43,000 people engaged in the simple craft of making dolls and other toys. Such is the ingenuity of the people that they had a few years ago 16,000 different patterns of dolls alone. Most of the girls earn from 8s. to 12s. a week, and children and men proportionate wages. This enterprise produces annually something like a million of money, and has dependent upon it a number of minor industries, such as box-making, manufacture of paper, etc. Considerable progress has been made in Lauscha, an adjoining town in the same district, in glass manufacture of small articles of the nature of toys also—glass marbles, glass toys of all sorts, imitation pearls, beads,

toy lamps, glass eyes for dolls, toy animals and human beings. The annual output of these glass trifles is £60,000 a year. They are enabled to do this by the presence of kaolin sand and soda in the soil, otherwise so sterile as to be hardly capable of growing potatoes in patches. Rodach, another little town in the same district, confines its attention to toy animals in wood and pulp covered with skins. Nurnburg produces £25,000 a year from magnetic and military toys, such as fishes, boats, swans, lead and tin soldiers. Hildburghausen makes paper and porcelain toys, some of great beauty and artistic merit. Now I don't want to say that we could compete with Germany and her forests in the matter of toys, I merely mention what can be done where wood is available, and how one small industry creates another. Ireland then must be replanted, and by a national and vast not private undertaking. In Nebraska (America) fifteen years ago a voluntary movement was started for the encouragement of planting and reafforesting in general, and one day in the year called "Arbour day" set apart for the purpose. On that occasion trees are planted by prominent persons and by the local bodies. This example has been followed by several other Western States, and "Arbour day" is now a public holiday in those regions, the date being fixed by the governor of the state. So great has been the growth, that in Kansas alone there are now no less than 250,000 acres of artificial forest, and 43,000,000 *forest trees* are growing in Nebraska, where two years ago not a single tree could be seen growing upon the wide prairies. The great Collingwood, of Trafalgar fame, used, when walking about his estate, if he came upon a vacant spot of ground, make a hole with his walking stick, drop in an acorn, and carefully cover it with earth. If some such simple plan had been followed by the landowners of Ireland in the past, the present deplorable scarcity of trees would never have occurred. But, alas, there has been no thought for the morrow.

A cognate consideration to this is the planting of OSIERS. Osiers, which has recently been strongly advocated in the interests of the wicker-work trade. It is gratifying to find that Limerick district has done better than some others in this respect, but ten times more could be done, and with a fair profit; for willows after two years begin to pay steadily, and run up to £25 an acre. Original outlay for

planting, £15 to £20 an acre ; first year no return, no outlay but rent of land ; second year, only outlay, rent ; cuttings will yield £12 to £15 an acre nett. Every year after the return will be £20 to £25, less the rent of the land. Being semi-aquatic plants, osiers are thoroughly adapted to lands abutting rivers and streams, and liable to flooding, therefore not very available for other purposes. It is satisfactory to know that the contract for the supply of baskets to the General Post Office service of Ireland was secured by the enterprise of a Limerick man. Similarly sterile land about our sea shores might be planted as in Belgium and Holland, with colza and bruyere ; and an eminent instance of this is the reclamation of that district between Bordeaux and Biarritz, known as "The Landes." This low-lying country near the Garonne has added since 1850 fifty millions of money to the wealth of France. As a writer said in 1882 : "This is one of the most beautiful pages in the history of civilization and progress. In a region which thirty years ago was one of the poorest and most miserable in France, but which may now be ranked among the most wealthy and prosperous."

MINES AND MINING. Adverting to our Mines and Mining, we find first an immense quantity of undeveloped Coal. We have seven Coal districts in Ireland—two in county Tyrone, one in Tipperary, the South-western Coal-field of Clare, Limerick, and Cork, Ballycastle (county Antrim), Castlecomer (county Kilkenny), and the Connaught district. These seven districts are estimated to contain 290,000,000 tons of Coal. The more shallow beds have been worked out, and for the future we must go down deeper. In Antrim there are 167 square miles, 40 per cent. of which is *Iron*, which could be worked in conjunction with the Coal-fields of county Tyrone, and will act at some future time as a great factor in our industries. Ireland's time will yet come, when England has to sink deeper for her Coal. These resources will then be veritable Irish diamonds, *richer than the Silver of Limerick and the Gold of Wicklow*. Time was—and it dates back far into history—when she smelted and exported Pig-iron into England, but the denuding of the forests and the cessation of smelting were simultaneous. Sir Eardly Wilmot says we have no chance of again smelting until we can produce our own wood charcoal, and to do that Ireland must be reafforested. But before that era can

repeat itself, a revolution in the relation of the manufacturers to the landowners or to the State must be effected. This question of mining Royalties has been repeatedly put before the English Government, not alone as regards Ireland, but the United Kingdom. Before the Commission on Trade Depression in 1886 it was shown that where English landowners charge 5*d.* or 6*d.* per ton royalty at the pit's mouth on Coal there worth 5*s.* 6*d.*, Germans are only allowed to exact 2 per cent. of the *current price*, and this money goes to the State. 2 per cent. is one-fiftieth; 6*d.* on 5*s.* 6*d.* is one-eleventh. Sometimes on the west coast of England 2*s.* 6*d.* out of 6*s.* 6*d.* per ton of Iron ore has to be paid as Royalty; whereas in Spain it would be but 8*d.* Even a trifle per ton on these minerals is a great consideration in competition.

Now, are Irish landowners prepared to forego Royalties on important minerals such as Coal and Iron, in order to aid the resuscitation of Irish industries, and not give us a repetition of such hideous examples as the following, which Dr. Sullivan cited before the Royal Commission of 1885? Questioned as to the Glass manufacture, he said: "Messrs. Chance, of Birmingham, asked me once if we had any Glass sand in Ireland, and I said we had at Muckish, in Donegal. They requested a sample to be sent them, which was done by Dr. Richie, of Belfast, and duly converted into good Glass. Then came the question of price. So Dr. Richie went to deal with the landowner, who told him that as his *grandfather* had let it for 30*s.* per ton Royalty, he would let him have it for the same! At that time Messrs. Chance were getting sand from Fontainebleau, near Paris, *delivered in Birmingham* at 15*s.* per ton. . . ." Do you wonder, Mr. President, that there is not a flourishing glass industry in Ireland? Now would it not have been better for that Donegal landowner to have 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton and sell his kaolin than to have his kaolin as a monument of his business incapacity and dog-in-the-manger policy? As matters stand, the Coal, Iron, etc., in this country are of no use to anybody; the landowner is none the better for them, nor the community, and unless the State steps in and does its palpable duty in the matter we shall find ourselves still handicapped in the competition of industrial nations. Do you think if our Coal and Iron Mines were situated in Belgium or Holland that the

Government would tolerate the condition of things existing here for twenty-four hours? I know I hold very strong views upon the mineral wealth of a country belonging to the community in general, and that it should be worked for their benefit and not as a private monopoly. There is really nothing new in the idea which has found expression in the political economy of such progressive nations as Germany and the United States.

STONE and Marble for building purposes,
AND MARBLE. country can produce—*vide* the new building in Trinity College, the Museum there, and the new National Library now in course of erection in Dublin. The great drawbacks to their universal use are excessive railway rates, to which I shall advert later on, and the apparent reluctance of architects to give them prominent mention in their specifications. As Dennis says, “‘No Irish need apply’ is written over every Irishman’s door.” May I ask if there is any special excellence in Welsh Slates that the Board of Works prefer them to those of Killaloe? My own experience is, the Killaloe make are more durable and far better all round.

PORTLAND CEMENT. The bulk of this article is imported, mostly from London, and yet that made and sold in Wexford is superior to any English I have seen. During some alterations in my premises I had occasion to break up some large blocks of concrete, made about a year ago, which were tougher and more cohesive than solid stone. I shall be happy to show a specimen to anyone who may care to see it.

BRICK-MAKING. Surely this ought be a local industry, yet it has been almost annihilated by the high railway rates. We have Clay second to none in the country.

FLOUR MILLING. This industry has of late passed through a grave crisis, caused mostly by the invention of superior machinery, against which, I fear, our smaller millers tried too long to fight, instead of adapting themselves to the progress of the times. Those manufacturers who braced themselves for the effort, and were backed by sufficient resources, will, no doubt, speedily retrieve their position, but the smaller millers must necessarily suffer from

the displacement of capital. Of course it is sad to go through the country and see all those Flour Mills silent; but could not many of them (especially in distant parts) be utilised for the Woollen and such like manufactures? The relative cost of cartage for Wool as compared with Flour is so palpable that an immense saving could be made on that head alone. For Flour purposes these small mills can hardly be of profitable use for the future, large roller mills, such as Messrs. Bannatyne's, being able to turn out so large a quantity in so short a time. It is therefore incumbent to find some other use for them and their valuable water-power.

It has been found cheaper to grind sea-borne wheat
 WATER- at the quay side, with imported coal, than to cart it
 POWER. into the country and back, grinding it by water-power, which practically costs nothing. (I may mention that coal costs about the same price in Limerick as it does in London. Cork and Waterford are 1s. to 1s. 6d. per ton cheaper than Limerick—therefore than London.) With an article like Wool whose cartage is trifling compared to the enhanced value gained by converting the raw material into the manufactured material *Cheap Power* is the important consideration. To come to figures—a ton of raw Wool is worth say £100, but when worked into ordinary tweeds it acquires a value of £300 to £400. A ton of Wheat may be put at £8; a ton of fine Flour about £12. You see at once the enormous disparity between the two industries. The cartage of the ton of Wheat is equal to that of the ton of Wool; but the power required to work up the latter being immensely greater than the former, and as that power (water-power) is to be had for little or nothing, it must be infinitely more economical than coal, for which we have to pay. The cartage of the Wool a few miles is a fleabite compared to the saving in power for the trouble of turning it on. What is to prevent us, with water-power, weaving Carpets, for example?

When we are able to construct as good loco-
 MACHINERY. motive engines at Inchicore and elsewhere in Ireland as the United Kingdom can produce (some experts tell me the finest engines in the world come from Inchicore), surely we can build the necessary machinery for making Carpets and Woollens generally. Nearly all, if not all, the machinery required in Ulster for the Linen trade

is made in that province—a great deal of it in Newry. But speaking of locomotives reminds me of a story which went the rounds of the Irish section of the late Manchester Exhibition. The Great Southern and Western Railway Company exhibited a gigantic triple-coupled bogie locomotive, and also a very beautiful composite railway carriage as specimens of Irish workmanship. They were truly magnificent productions. Well, two English artisans enquired of the man in charge of these exhibits if they were really made in Ireland, he at once replied: “Certainly. When we are not engaged in shooting landlords of a morning, we turn our hand to make one of these trifling things.” As they walked away evidently somewhat staggered, one of the Englishmen said to the other, “I say, Bill, that ’ere ingen weren’t ever made in Oireland; she was sent there to be painted, don’t yer know.” I regret I have no time to devote to such valuable industries as small Metal Working, Glass, Chemicals, Paper, Pottery, Coachbuilding; but I must say one word of praise on behalf of Mrs. Ernest Harte’s efforts to promote Cottage Industries in Donegal, Mrs. Power Lawlor’s in the Midlands, and Mrs. Robert Vere O’Brien’s in this immediate neighbourhood.

I just throw out the suggestion that in the South
 STRAW and West of Ireland, where Straw is cheap,
 PLAINTING. Straw plaiting might be tried, and the manufac-
 ture of Straw-bottle Envelopes, etc. There are
 said to be 60,000 persons employed in Straw working in
 England.

Will my audience credit the statement that in so
 SOAP. simple a trade as Soap making, the raw material is
 sent away from Limerick to Liverpool and elsewhere,
 converted into Soap, and returned to our shopkeepers to
 sell? Why we cannot make our own Soap, passes my com-
 prehension; a better centre for obtaining the raw material
 and distributing the manufactured article, does not exist in
 Ireland. I commend the trade to any young man with a
 little capital, and plenty of energy; it is capable of making a
 fortune for him. Soap is the converse of Wool, it is a heavy
 article in proportion to its value, say £18 a ton, and the
 freight of it from a long distance should be a profit to the
 maker.

You will, doubtless, have remarked that in connection with several of the foregoing industries I mentioned what an important part the Railway system played, and, discussing this, we enter upon one of the most vital social questions which can be entertained. But, perhaps, I can best show its importance by quoting a few facts and figures. Manufactured goods from Manchester to Tralee are charged 57s. 6d. per ton freight; from Manchester to Cork, 42s. 6d.: therefore, 15s. per ton divides the two places. But if a Cork manufacturer sends his goods from Cork to Tralee, the "local rate," as it is termed, is 36s. 3d., or 21s. 3d. more than the Manchester man pays. Again, woollen goods from Bradford to Tralee cost 77s. 6d. per ton, while the same class of goods sent from Cork to Tralee direct cost 58s., leaving only 19s. 6d. per ton carriage Bradford to Cork. It is, as a matter of fact, cheaper to get goods from an English manufacturing town in Yorkshire than from Dublin to Galway, or *vice versa*. Goods of ordinary class from Limerick to Belfast, via Dublin, cost 40s. a ton, while you can send the same goods to London for 25s. a ton. It is cheaper to send goods to Belfast *thus* than to rail them via Dublin—Limerick to Waterford by rail, steamer to Glasgow, then steamer to Belfast. From Limerick to Londonderry or Coleraine would be about as feasible as sending to Japan, through excessive Railway Rates. The freights upon Irish Railways seem to be arranged so as to discourage to the utmost our local developments, and encourage importations of all foreign goods from England and abroad. And I see but little chance of the permanent revival of our industries until a radical revolution takes place in the management of this important means of internal communication. Either the Government must take over the Railways, as in the case of Belgium, or the Railways must amalgamate into one central department—subdivided into, say, four sections: for reform must come from *within* or *without*. The Railroads have become the highways of the people and their traffic, and the general interest must now be consulted more than the payment of a paltry dividend of 1 or 2 per cent. I am not for confiscating the property of the shareholders, of whom I am one. On the other hand, I believe a scheme such as this would enhance its value greatly. The centralization would admit of enormous

economy in rolling stock, plant, managerial expenses, and purchase of material, and lead to a uniformity in rates and fares, a more rational classification of merchandise, and the stimulated trade of the country. I am by no means singular in this opinion. It has been advocated for years by such giant political economists as Dr. Sullivan, Queen's College, Cork, and Sir Robert Kane. As matters stand, if a small industry was started in Tipperary or Thurles—say Brick-making—it would cost as much to deliver the Bricks in Limerick as if they came from Glasgow by steamer. To such an extent would an enterprising man be handicapped against the powerful Scotch capitalists.

But there are as great, if not greater, obstacles to
 BANKING be met with in the Banking System. I touched
 SYSTEM. upon this in my former paper. A popular writer
 has summarised the situation thus, and I quote him

lest you may think my comments are prejudiced by Limerick experience only. He says: "Ireland's total capital, after supplying its population with food, is estimated at £276,000,000 sterling, being £53 per head of the population. But a small part of this is actual coin; crops being rated at £30,000,000, live stock, £73,000,000, and railways, £30,000,000. Moneys invested in stocks, bank deposit receipts, current accounts, credit balances, deposits in Post Office and other savings banks amount to £80,000,000. This latter amount is what we have to deal with as the working capital of the country, to be employed in and for commerce and industry. Now, five-sixths of this capital is invested by the banker in all sorts of foreign bonds—for instance, railroads in Nicaragua, waterworks in Juan Fernandez—anywhere and everywhere, except in the country that created it." They will trust anybody rather than Irishmen. "If the Banks lend money at all it is on a three months' bill at enormous interest and with crippling security. They refuse to the Irish people the credit which the Irish people cheerfully and sometimes too confidently give to them. Not once or twice only have the Irish had to repent of the trust they put in anything calling itself a Bank; yet this confidence has never been reciprocated. Compared with this, the sins of the men who draw incomes from Irish lands and spend them abroad, dwindle into insignificance. Capital and the use of capital are practically the same thing; looked at from that

point of view, Irish Banking has despoiled Ireland." A report of the Sub-Commission on the subject in 1885, shows that "the interest of the Irish public in the nine Irish Banks is nearly four times that of the shareholders," and observes that "there can be no question, but that the Banking laws of Ireland are penal laws of the worst character."

If a small manufacturer, with machinery, plant, and buildings, costing £2,000, goes to a Bank in the South or West of Ireland for an advance to carry on or extend his business, he must pledge his entire property as collateral, besides his own and often a friend's personal security, and he may possibly then get from the Bank a promissory note for £500, discounted for three months, at 6 per cent., or £500 for £2,000 of real outlay, and two men's personal security. This may be what they call Banking in Munster and Connaught, but it is not Banking in its highest sense, or even its true sense. Now bear in mind that this £500 so grudgingly lent at this high rate of interest is not part of the Bank's shareholders' own immediate capital at all, but possibly the deposit of the very borrower's own sisters, cousins, and aunts, and perhaps uncles; living probably in his own immediate neighbourhood, which latter are getting an interest of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while the Bank, for the simple office of go-between, pockets $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Now for an instance of Scotch Banking. Mr. Monteith, M.P., told the Committee of the House of Commons that he was a manufacturer employing 4,000 hands; and, with the exception of the merest trifle of capital (lent to him privately, and which he very soon paid off), he began the world with nothing but a Bank cash credit. It was well for Mr. Monteith he was not born in the South of Ireland. As I have said before, the basis of the system of Scotch cash credits is the capitalizing of a man's character, ability, opportunities, knowledge, and connections. As Solomon said, "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter." Until Irish Banks learn to trust the people as the people trust them, Irish industrial enterprise must be an uphill struggle. Competition would probably be the best remedy, and possibly the best form of it—Industrial Banks similar to the 1,800 now extant in Germany.

Last, but not least, I mention the importance of Technical Education; but as that is shortly to be dealt with by a prominent member of this class, I shall husband my remarks

until then. I fear I have exceeded the limits of your patience, while I have not half exhausted my subject, and, in closing my paper, I would impress upon you what, to my mind, are the great functions that Government is called upon to discharge in Irish industries. But, speaking of Government aid, I wish to observe, it should rather supplement than supersede private and local effort. "Heaven helps those that help themselves," and so should temporal government. There are five great undertakings with which private enterprise is powerless to cope: First—the Fisheries. Second—Arterial Drainage. Third—Reafforestation. Fourth—Railways. Fifth—Technical Education. The Banks can speedily reform themselves, if they will; if not, competition must come in and make them do so. I am not hopeless of the future of my country. We have in and around us all the elements of a great industrial people. And, Irishmen! if you respect the land that gave you birth, cling together as one man for her redemption. Remember the fable of the bundle of sticks—weak individually, our unity would be stupendous strength. Away with the invidious distinction of class. Away with the paltry pride which impairs a man's usefulness because he was not born poor. And, above all, away with the hideous asperities of creed, which have been the curse of our common country. For—

What matter though at different shrines
 We bow unto one God—
 What matter though at different times
 Our fathers trod the sod—
 In fortune and in fame we're bound
 By closer links than steel,
 And neither can be safe or sound
 But in the other's weal.



THE DEBATE.

THE President, Rev. WALTER BAXENDALE, in opening the Debate, said that this meeting was an answer to those who said they were not interested in the welfare of the country in which they lived. They had here a thoroughly representative meeting, composed of all classes and creeds, and, he might also add, of all shades of politics. Many of their Roman Catholic friends were in their midst, and, in the name of the class, he bade them a hearty welcome. It was also his duty and his pleasure, in the name of the committee and the name of the class, to give a hearty welcome to Lord Monteaule, whose presence to-night showed the interest he took in the subject. He (the President) might say that his Lordship had taken a personal and practical part with regard to the industries of the country, in some directions, and therefore he would speak to-night with some measure of authority. If the class would permit him, he would add this on his own responsibility, that if gentlemen in Lord Monteaule's position came oftener amongst them they would be better conversant with matters affecting their common good. National life affected their individual history; it was impossible that they could separate themselves from their surroundings; they prospered with the country or they suffered with the country. He took it that the desire for the true and real prosperity of the country in which they lived belonged to the very loftiest kind of patriotism. He did not say when or how that prosperity was to be produced, but that they had all a hearty interest in the subject of this evening—that they prayed "God bless Ireland" in its truest sense—he might take it for granted by their presence. They lived in a declining city; he believed it was perfectly true that within the last twenty or twenty-five years this city had lost something like 20,000 or 25,000 of its population. That was a very serious question for the industrial classes, and if

anything which might be said to-night would stimulate any particular industry, their meeting would not be in vain. One very important subject has been touched on by Mr. Shaw, with his usual ability and candour, and that was in reference to their Sea Fisheries. He (the Chairman) had been told when coming to Limerick that he would get fish in this city very cheap, but he found that he often had to pay twice as much for it as he would have to pay in London. Now, he said that with a sea-board such as we have such a state of things was a disgrace to this city—the Metropolis of the West of Ireland. If a few practical men did for the mouth of the Shannon what Lady Burdett-Coutts did for Baltimore—all honour to her—the advantages to this city and district would be incalculable. The President expressed his pleasure in calling on Lord Monteagle to address the Meeting.

LORD MONTEAGLE, on rising, was received with cheers. He said—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, after the extremely interesting lecture to which we have listened from our friend Mr. Shaw, I feel some diffidence in addressing you on a subject with which not only he but most of those whom I address are probably very much more familiar than I am. Although I have always taken a great interest in all matters affecting the welfare of my country, and especially in all matters affecting Irish trade, I, of course, feel that I approach them as an amateur, and if I have given my mind as well as I could to these subjects my knowledge of them and my treatment of them must accordingly be to a great extent theoretical. But, I understand, on occasions such as this it is usual for this society and the class which holds its meeting this evening, that there should be something in the nature of a discussion upon the address with which the meeting opens, and I shall therefore take the liberty of saying a few words. As I know your time is short, we have been so well occupied in considering in great detail the interesting information put before us by Mr. Shaw, I will not detain you by any lengthened preface, but will plunge at once, without more ado, into some of the questions which have been raised by the lecturer, and I shall address myself to the remarks which suggested themselves to me in the course of his lecture. You must excuse me, Mr. President, if my remarks are of a somewhat bald and disjointed character, because, as I have stated, not having the

practical experience which other gentlemen have in dealing with these matters, I have only been able as the lecturer went along to jot down some of the subjects which to my mind call for some comment.

What I think struck me most in the lecturer's address was the clear grasp he took of the principles which should govern the development of Irish Trade and Irish Industries. He seemed to feel all through his remarks that although he expected and called upon you to demand from Government the aid which Government and Government alone can give, yet he always had at the back of his mind the idea to which he alluded at the close of his address—that Government like Providence should help those who help themselves. And although there may be many things that Government might do, there must always remain a vast amount that Government cannot do. And if I may here address myself for one moment to the younger members of this society—those who form the class which Mr. Shaw has been addressing—I would say that it is a great advantage to them to have a gentleman like Mr. Shaw, whose influence, experience, and enterprise are so greatly respected in this city, and in the country generally, coming before them and pointing out the great duty which lies upon every one of them of self-help, not to be always contenting yourself with crying out to Government to do this and that for you; to show that you are responsible and able to take advantage of the facilities afforded you and then go to the Government and say, "This is what we are able to do for ourselves. Now show that you are willing to do your part and assist us."

But to go a little more into detail, Mr. President, I am afraid that on some points I should be inclined to join issue with the lecturer if there were time to thrash things out. As to some of the industries which he thought might be assisted by Government, I quite agree with him that Government can do a great deal; but I think Mr. Shaw perhaps from a generous self-depreciation hardly recognises the great importance and the great advantage of obtaining that aid which the capitalist alone can give. Mr. Shaw approaches these questions from the point of view of the successful captain of industry, as Thomas Carlyle termed them—a man who has put his own shoulder to the wheel, and who builds up his own industry; he has great advantage for pursuing and

developing the industry which he is interested in, and it is not only that he has energy and the capital I talked about ; it is not merely the possession of capital ; it is not merely the possession of energy, it is the being able to rise to a sufficient height to make a survey of the ground, to know what is being done in other parts of the world, and to profit by what his neighbours are doing—to be able, in short, to take such an enlightened view of the industry in which he is interested, that he may be always in the van, and be always able to put himself at the head of the industry which he is supporting. No man respects more than I do the honest efforts of the labourer, who is an essential part of the wheels of life, but the labourer cannot possibly have the necessary experience, the necessary energy, and the necessary knowledge to which Mr. Shaw alludes. For instance, Mr. Shaw very properly referred to what has been done in countries like Denmark for the development of the Dairy industry, and he very properly said that the farmers of this country could hardly be expected to find out that for themselves—and in the same way as regards other industries—without somebody to lead them, to come forward and put things into shape, and no matter what the good will, the good intentions, and the industry of the people may be, they want to be led, and that is, I should say, one of the first things we should call upon Government to do—to give us all possible assistance in the way of light and leading.

But I am afraid I have dwelt rather too long on the general aspects of the question. To come to details. Mr. Shaw began with the Fisheries. Well, I think that part of the development of the Fishing industry can only be done by Government. You cannot expect private individuals to construct great harbours in a poor country like Ireland, still less to construct the Railways which are necessary to convey the Fish from the harbours when they are landed there, but these are necessary links in the chain. The first step you have to take is to catch your Fish, and in these days, when steam and the great forces of capital have been brought into play, every industry comes to require larger treatment than it did in those former times of which Mr. Shaw has told you, when the great development of the Fishing industry was produced by bounties. I myself was very much interested in the development of these Deep Sea Fisheries a year or two

ago, and I went to see a number of people—Fish factors, and members of the trade in London, Birmingham, and other places—and what I found everywhere was this—you want a large expenditure of capital, you want people who have a command of capital, who can concentrate it on any place they desire, and if you wish to get up a great Fishing industry on the West Coast of Ireland, you will have to depend largely on some who have their arrangements made for sending Fish direct to market. It is not so simple a matter as it may appear to be. Supposing you have a great take of mackerel in one night you cannot ship them all to London market. You want to know where they want mackerel all over the country, and you require to have people there to receive the Fish as it arrives. You must have such a perfect system that you can arrange where the mackerel is to be delivered after the steamer receives it from the fishing vessels on its way to Liverpool or New Milford. All these things require organization, and that is a thing Government can do. It is a thing you can hardly expect to arise spontaneously over here, and we should call most earnestly on the Government to do what they can to develop harbours, and make the necessary railway improvement. There remains a great deal to be done which you must call on capital to accomplish, and one of the great needs we have in Ireland in these matters is that capital should be encouraged to flow into those channels where it is required for the development of Irish industries.

As the lecturer has alluded to Irish Banks I would say that if you could convey the capital which is constantly being poured into Irish Banks in the form of deposit—if you could convey that into other channels to supply the various needs of Irish industries, you would do more for Irish industries than all the Government aid you could get.

Another matter the lecturer alluded to is what may be done in the way of Reafforesting. I agree with him that a great deal may be done to benefit the country—the climate being agricultural—by the encouragement of minor industries, by encouraging the growth of trees, and planting, but, perhaps, I somewhat misunderstood Mr. Shaw when he quoted the example of America. I had some doubt in my mind whether these States to which he alluded—Kansas and Nebraska—who started planting on a large scale, and set apart a day in the year when everyone should plant trees—when Mr. Shaw

stated that the Government should undertake the Reafforesting of Ireland and quoted the instance of America, I had some doubt from what he said whether the action taken in America had been taken by Government, or whether it was not rather that Government had given it some stimulus—had shown the way, and then called on every man to plant his acorn. Well, I think there might be a great deal done in the way of encouraging individuals to plant in this country if the Government would show the way, and the manner in which they might show it would be by establishing a School of Forestry. A School of Forestry would be productive of very good results, whether or not the Government would take up the large question of planting on an extensive scale.

Having alluded to one or two questions in which I should venture a little to criticise the lecturer, and to suggest doubts as to how such might be accomplished by Government aid, I wish now to dwell for a few minutes on one subject which can be attacked only by the Government in my opinion, and in that view I am happy to find myself in cordial agreement with Mr. Shaw. He has alluded to the necessity for great improvements in Railway facilities for the development of Irish industry, and he quoted the remarks of some one whom he did not name on that subject. I think he also quoted Sir Robert Kane, and Dr. Sullivan of Cork. I would venture to read for the meeting a few words from an authority who I think will be acknowledged to be second to none of living authorities that could be named in any matter relating to finance. Some years ago—nearly twenty years ago now—my friend Lord Emly, who so long represented the county of Limerick in Parliament, introduced into the House of Commons and brought forward a resolution in favour of this very change Mr. Shaw now advocates, and which many people in Ireland I think desire—at least a great majority of the country desire it—and I hope the people of England may soon come round to recognise the advantages which would accrue to this country from the amalgamation, or if possible, I should be inclined to go further and say, the purchase of Irish Railways. Well, on this occasion these words were used in the course of a debate by a prominent member of the Government: “It is true that it is hardly possible to estimate the advantages which low Railway fares may confer on a country. It is true, as he has said, that the problem which

he has raised and manfully confronted to-night, the difficult and serious problem relating to the intervention of the Government in the concerns of Railways is to a certain extent limited and simplified in turn by the particular circumstances in which it is placed. I go a step further and admit that if it should be the desire of the Imperial Parliament to confer a pecuniary boon on Ireland, there would probably be no mode in which that boon could be conferred so free from all taint of partiality, and at the same time so comprehensive and effective in its application as some measure undertaken with a view to secure to her the benefits of cheap Railway transit, the advantage accruing from which, in my opinion, would be enormous, it would pass with invigorating force through every fibre of the national system." Now, I think these are words that will find an echo in the heart of every Irishman. They were uttered by a great Englishman—a man with whom I don't agree on every subject—but whose financial reputation must command the respect of every man in the country. They were uttered by Mr. Gladstone.

Now I wish to dwell a little on this question of Irish Railways, because, as I said, it is one that the Government alone can deal with, and in some of its respects it is one that they may deal with at once and without any hesitation whatever. I dare say many of the meeting are aware that there was a Royal Commission sitting in Ireland during last year and the year before to consider questions connected with the various public works in this country. They dealt with the question of Arterial Drainage, the construction of Harbours for Deep Sea Fisheries, and also with Railways. They made various recommendations, some of which would, I think, secure the almost unanimous support of all parties in both Houses of Parliament. Now, it is questions like these which claim attention, and I shall on every occasion that I have the opportunity of doing so impress upon the Government the importance of pressing on these measures which divide no party, which involve no class distinctions as between landlord and tenant or anything of the kind, but which are of the greatest possible importance to this country, and for that reason should be backed up by all parties in the Government.

I am afraid that I have detained the meeting somewhat too long, Mr. President. I must close as I began with apologising

for the somewhat disjointed tenor of my remarks, but before I sit down I wish to pay my own tribute of thanks to the lecturer for the extremely interesting lecture with which he has favoured us to-night, and to assure him that I for one have benefited very largely by the instruction I have received.

MR. R. W. SWITZER also spoke, and said there were few gentlemen in Limerick better able to grasp the subject of Irish industries than Mr. Shaw. There were some important lessons to be learned from his address. He was glad to see that the subject of Irish industries had been so warmly taken up by the people in general, and that they had seen that the time had come when the South and West of Ireland must be something more than a mere agricultural country.

MR. ARCHIBALD MURRAY (Messrs. Todd & Co.) said that as far as the various Governments which had power over this country were concerned he was inclined to give none of them credit for any great desire to do her justice in respect to the development of her industries. He would exempt no party, for he believed that to a certain extent they had been made shuttlecocks of. Great measures had been brought forward from time to time, and spoken of when general elections loomed in the distance, but to none of the politicians of the present day could he give credit for a free and voluntary desire to come forward and do justice to the country, or to study its history, not even those who had been made subjects of very sudden conversion. He believed what was keeping the people back in the matter of prosperity was that in the first place they were afraid of small beginnings. They thought that to start with they must have a large capital subscribed by some philanthropic lady like Lady Burdett-Coutts, or else that a Limited Liability Company should be formed by which responsibility would be spread over every one, and where no one had any. They feared to begin at the lowest rung of the ladder. It might be very well to go to Scotland to see the success of industry, but they did not require to go beyond that particular room—they did not require to go any further than the able lecturer himself. The speaker then referred to the Mahony Woollen Factory at Blarney, and proceeded to say that at the present moment some people would buy nothing but the Blarney material. The firm had more orders coming in to them than they were able to execute,

and year by year not only was their turn over increasing but the profits of the company were largely increasing also. They had agents in America and other parts of the world, and all this had been done within twenty or thirty years. The speaker then alluded to the Condensed Milk Factory in Limerick. It had been brought, he said, to its present proportions, not without difficulties, but the proprietors were determined to overcome them, and they were determined to produce an article that could cope with any competition. What they required in this country was not so much to look for Government help—for the Government was bound to help them—as to make the Government respect them in the first instance. The Papers of Mr. Shaw would not be thrown away by any means, for he believed they would have a very good effect in showing the young men of the Association, and those not connected with it, that the future of the country depended on the exertions of every individual member of the community. He believed that before many of them left this mortal scene they would see around them an increased population, and not only a happy and contented people, but a prosperous and industrious one.

MR. J. MATTERSON, J.P., said that he had very great pleasure in listening to Mr. Shaw's Paper, but it was rather late for him to speak, after the eloquence displayed by the gentleman who had gone before him. He quite agreed with Mr. Shaw, that they were not to depend altogether on Government assistance; they must show ability and perseverance, and then they could look for Government assistance. There was a good deal in what Lord Monteagle had said, when he remarked that a great deal of the money deposited in the Banks could, with advantage, be issued in the interests of the country. He (the speaker) believed, certainly, that so far as the Banks in the South of Ireland were concerned, they had not been so liberal in assisting trade and commerce as those in the North and other countries, but wherever they saw an industrious man in whom they had confidence, they were not backward in assisting him when occasion required it. There was plenty of room for the development of various Irish industries. There were many small industries which appeared as nothing, but which, nevertheless, were a great assistance to the farming community in particular. There was the Egg industry, for instance, and they had a very small

idea of the number sold in England from the Continent. He happened to be in a large merchant's office there a short time ago, and, noticing a large supply of beautiful boxes, was informed by the merchant that these contained Austrian Eggs, £10,000 worth of which he sold in one month alone. It did not require so much of an enormous capital as energy and perseverance to make a business successful, and he had no doubt that some of the young men whom he was addressing would in time be rich and prosperous merchants. He said he had listened to Mr. Shaw's Paper with much pleasure.

MR. BELSHAW also spoke, encouraging home manufacture, and its consumption at home.

THE ADJOURNED DISCUSSION.

The discussion was resumed Friday, November 24th. There was a very good attendance of gentlemen connected with the mercantile pursuits in the city, a large number of ladies being also present. The proceedings were opened at eight o'clock, by the Rev. W. Baxendale. As Chairman, he observed that the Literary Class had arranged that Mr. Gibson should address the meeting to-night on the subject.

MR. GIBSON then came forward, amidst much applause. The speaker said that this lecture being a very important one, had no doubt closely occupied the public attention. It appeared to him that the speakers who followed Mr. Shaw on the last occasion upheld his views entirely, and said nothing at all against them. They also seemed to keep very much away from the political aspect of the question, which was thoroughly an economic subject, and he (the speaker) submitted that any economic subject must be essentially a political one, therefore he said that essentially the question of Irish industries was a thoroughly political one, and must be looked at, if they wanted to get a clear and proper sight of it, from an historical and political point of view. Their esteemed friend, Mr. Murray, had taken up the debate on lines which he (Mr. Gibson) highly disagreed with. Mr. Murray had gone in entirely for putting the Government out of the question and individual enterprises to be forwarded; but he (the speaker) submitted what was required was public enterprise in the country—to work for themselves and yet to be calling on the Government always. As their essayist showed, the Government had done all in their power

to sweep out Irish industries. Fishing—an industry which required no very large amount of capital and which at one time employed a number of men—had been so dealt with to suit the people of England in whose interest Ireland was misgoverned. What he complained of was the style of government which England gave this country for the past century. What style of government, he asked, was that which made different people feel that they could only get their rights through outrage? Now, they wanted to put down all outrages. The speaker quoted various passages from the Rev. Mr. Taylor and Mr. Ruskin, dealing with Irish character and the country generally; and, with a view to showing the advantages to be derived by this country from a Home Government, mentioned a case which occurred a few days ago, where the Harbour Commissioners of Cork had to go before Parliament for the purpose of getting consent to an alteration in their Harbour Bill, and which cost them £5,000. He then, at considerable length, entered into the subjects of Commerce, Agriculture, and Taxes, and said that in England the Government plundered the taxpayers to support a number of lazy, idle officials. Now that the great majority of the people of England saw and acknowledged that they had done wrong in the past to this country, the people of this country should force the Government to make amends. Having dwelt also on the stagnation of enterprise in Ireland, which he attributed to selfishness, he concluded by giving expression to the hope that the time would soon come when Irish industries would once again be made what they were before—the first industries in the world because always worked honestly and with honest materials—no shoddy—no slop work—but honest value—always given by Irishmen everywhere—for good honest money.

MR. THOMAS W. ROBINSON said he quite agreed with Mr. Gibson, that the great want in connection with Irish industry was individual work, as well as Government help. The two points, as Mr. Gibson had said, were inseparable. The speakers they heard on the last night did not give them much practical information on the subject. They were led back into history a good deal on that subject, and the previous speakers had pointed out that manufactures were flourishing in Ireland at one time, such as Cotton, Wool, etc.—manufactures that were clearly put out owing to legislation, or

perhaps the want of legislation ; and the same speakers had also pointed out that the industries of England and other countries might be cultivated with advantage here, but they were not told in any practical way how to introduce or work them. When they heard all about those industries of other countries they could not help asking themselves the question—is it possible to cultivate our industrial resources so that they would permanently help the country? This was a question he thought they could answer in the affirmative. There was one great principle underlying the question—the principle of co-operation. They wanted co-operation in all classes—in their Parliament—in their people—in their home here—they wanted rich and poor to co-operate for the benefit of one another. They did not want the rich to co-operate with the London traders. They wanted them to co-operate at home here in Ireland, and to help in that way. As a refutation of statements which he had heard that industries and manufactures could not flourish in Ireland, owing to the climate preventing and rendering them unprofitable, he pointed to the Linen trade of Ulster—a credit to any country—and to Belfast, the great centre of that industry. In this single industry a capital of £18,000,000 is involved in plant, machinery, etc. The speaker then referred to a paper read by the Duke of Abercorn recently at the Society of Arts meeting in London, in reference to rural industry, and having shown analytically that 30 per cent. in Scotland, 33 per cent in England, and only 16 per cent. of the people of Ireland were employed in manufactures, said they could not help admitting the country was in a wretched state of poverty, and unless something were done—and he felt it would be done—it would be nothing short of a miracle to be able to live in it. With regard to the allusion Mr. Shaw made to the Soap and Match trade in Limerick, he (speaker) attributed that to the action of the Banks here. Any one anxious to take them up again must do so with capital and put them on a par with the manufactures of other countries. They wanted co-operation, as he had said—no matter whether from members of the I. L. P. U. or National League—full of determination to do whatever they could for the good of the country. They did not agree that a happy nation could be built upon blood, and in conclusion, he would repeat the words of O'Connell : “No political reform is worth the

shedding of a single drop of blood. If they in any way insulted the authority of God they would have no part in that prosperity He had promised to bestow on His people."

MR. BENNIS (George Street) said that the subject of the Debate was a thing which, in the South of Ireland, he was sorry to say, did not exist. It would be impossible to speak of the present aspects and prospects of trade without referring to the past. If a company started a factory or a business of any kind, and it came to grief, then, if they were anxious to start again, they must look back at the cause of their past failure, so as to be successful in the future. Well, now, all the previous speakers had spoken in favour of the possibility of Irish manufactures, and those who spoke of the misrule of England seemed to have shut their eyes entirely to the truth. He would like to know what manufacture had been tried in Ireland unsuccessfully and unfavourably. Mr. Belshaw had said that in his young days—speaking of manufacturing—that it could stand a bounty. Where did David Landers make his money, in spite of English bounties to put him down? Where did scores make their money in spite of the English bounties barrier? Where were the prosperous Soap manufacturers of Waterford, Tralee and Killarney?—all successively gone down. The intelligence of the Irish people had been blamed because the men who had £30,000,000 of their money deposited in our Banks had used it as they should—without abuse as the trustees of the depositors. These men had been abused for having this vast sum of money, and because they did not lend the money to persons on their character without substantial collateral security. He would like to know if the Bank of Ireland or the National Bank lent £100 each to 1,000 men on their individual security and goodness of character, how much of the £100,000 would be paid back to them within the next one or five years? Moreover, those who had deposits in such Banks, when they heard of it, would very quickly withdraw them. No; money was but an article of commerce, and the same country which uses over £16,000,000 of cattle every year, consumed our millions of pounds' worth of Butter, and everything else we had to sell, also comes in to utilize our surplus capital. Thom's Almanack stated, that in the year 1855, the principal manufactures in Waterford were Sugar and Beer. Where were those manufactures gone? They had been told

that a man could make Brushes so cheap and profitable as to bring them back from London here at market price. Where had the Cotton manufacturers of Limerick and the Linen manufacturers gone to? They had been told by Mr. Shaw that the Soap manufacturers prospered. Mr. Bennis referred to the absence of Ship-building in Waterford and Cork, and in conclusion said that he had been telling the chairman within the last few days that some young Englishman came here, and would have spent large amounts of money but for the workmen.

MR. CRAIG (Manager of the Clyde Shipping Company) next spoke. He said his reason for coming there was to ask Mr. Shaw to take a note of some things he had to say on this subject for his further enlightenment and that of the class. He thought the English Government and the English people might be justly called on to assist individual effort in the matter of harbours and boats so as to make the pursuit of Fisheries profitable to those engaged in it. In the matter of Milling, it was perfectly plain to anyone who knew anything about it that it had been destroyed by free imports from America. The speaker then referred to the Land Question, and spoke of Lord Ashbourne's Purchase Act, which would be the carrying out of an Act singularly successful, and yet here was the difficulty. A strong Government might succeed in carrying this measure, but if the Government appealed to the country on the question, he asked, would it be equally successful? He thought the masses would refuse it, because the English liked good security for their money. In the matter of trade, he (Mr. Craig) thought that this country was entitled to the little trade she had. It was absolutely monstrous that a country like America, so, comparatively speaking, new and enterprising, could through the system of bounties destroy the trade of this country. Why, he asked, should they sacrifice their industries and trade to satisfy any political faction? Now, there was another trade which Mr. Shaw mentioned, and which at one time flourished in Ireland—the Sugar trade. He understood from Mr. Shaw that he approved of the system of bounties in the matter of trade in this country. Well, he might mention that a deputation of Sugar Merchants waited on the Tory Government—he thought on Lord Randolph Churchill—and pointed out that the Sugar trade was being

done away with, but they met with the old evil—the classes being governed by the masses, throwing the whole power away from intellect to mere numbers. Having criticised some of Mr. Shaw's suggestions on the point relating to protection, the speaker said that with reference to the general question, as to the success or not of Irish industries, they had not been very successful up to the present, but he thought that the idea of individual effort, and the desire of success in trade, was in every nation's character. He thought that the Irish people of the South were very versatile and gifted in the matter of taste, and the faculties which certain trades required, and therefore might possibly be successful to some extent; but against the energy of the Anglo-Saxon, who worked in a factory from early morning till seven or eight o'clock at night—and did that day after day—Ireland would for a long time contend in vain.

MR. THAANUM (Messrs. W. & C. McDonnell's Creameries) said that they had heard that the Government ought to do something in this matter. He was of the same opinion, but he failed to see or hear from any of the speakers what way they proposed the Government should aid them. The way the Government could best assist the country was by giving grants to the Banks; the Government could not step in and assist individuals, but they could advance money to the Banks, and the Banks could then advance the money to certain persons. He thought they were at present doing a great deal to get the evils of the country redressed. The present Land Bill was a great step in advance. He would say, as Sir Edmund Grey said in the House of Commons, "Although in favour both of the Bill and amendment, I would vote in favour of the Bill for fear of losing it altogether." Of course the Liberals kicked against taking the money from the English taxpayer, and that was quite natural; but, he submitted, that that was nothing to the point. When we got the benefit we should be satisfied. "Half a loaf was better than no bread." Then about the Railways, they were a great drawback, and if they belonged to the country the freights would be easier, the expense less, and the cost of carriage of goods much cheaper. With regard to the question of protection, he (Mr. Thaanum) was not in favour of protection for any country, and they need not ask it. What Mr. Shaw said in his Paper about the things which had been granted,

he thought it was very well for the people concerned in the industries that these things had been granted. He was aware that they had been granted in certain countries, but he also knew that in many countries they had not been granted, and that the manufacturers had gone on in spite of them better than they would with any Government help, because they had personal energy. Without that they could not do anything. That was just what they wanted here in Ireland. There was no co-operation at present existing in the country between the one class and the other, owing to the fact they were very unfortunately situated, and, in general, the principles which each class upheld had a great deal to do with the failure of our industries. No other country in the world was so much given to class differences as Britain. If men spoke more to each other on the various matters of trade and industry, he said there would be a great improvement; but here he found that one man would not speak to another as to how he was getting on. Of course, there were a great many things in reference to trade which it was not alone necessary but also advisable to keep private, and there were many things in connection with his business which he would not tell his best friend; but he thought for the general good of the country those concerned should have more communication with each other. Let the audience take as a simile the small country of Denmark—it was not the Government that assisted there so much as private effort. Mr. Thaanum next referred to the fact that twenty-five years ago Irish Butter used to be the best in the world, but it could hardly be sold now. He was glad to hear that the Butter trade had improved, and he knew himself that there was no doubt about the fact that butter had never been so cheap in England as since the Margarine Act was passed.

MR. THOMAS GRUBB (Messrs. Russell & Co.) said Mr. Shaw had touched upon many subjects which were exceedingly frank and suggestive. He had great hope in the future of Ireland. He believed that Irishmen were able to turn out such manufactures as they had turned out before, which would favourably compete with any other country; but he thought we must look at what was the cause of our failure in some of those enterprises which had been so well started, and for a little time so successfully carried on. He (Mr. Grubb) believed that one of our great failures was this—that so long as we did

not meet with competition we were successful, but the moment we put our articles into competition, and they clashed with those of other countries, then our noble Irish character—if one liked to call it so—stood firm, would not give in, held to its price, and some one else produced the same article at a lower price, consequently the trade was taken from us. He believed that was one of the great barriers to Irish manufactures, and also that an Irishman had too great a notion of what he was able to turn out. The question was—could we successfully compete with other countries in this way? He believed the Irishman suffered from either of these two evils—he either wanted too much profit for his labour or was not willing to meet his competition on equal grounds. He thought they saw in the subject of the Railways, so well spoken of in the course of this discussion, one particular characteristic which was applicable to every Railway in Ireland, and it was obstruction—doing all they could for the discomfort of their passengers and for the prevention of traffic on our Railways. He believed this was really the policy which the Railway Companies were acting on, and the reason why they were so successful in paying handsome dividends was because they did not meet the wishes and interests of the people. He said he thought it would be far better and more profitable to the people of Ireland if they used fast steamers for their freights for Fish instead of the Railways in bringing them to the English market. He was surprised to see by the Duke of Abercorn's notes that there were 600 Fishing vessels in Ireland belonging to the Irish, with nearly thirty feet on the keel, but these were quite unfit and unsuitable for the heavy deep Sea Fisheries. Reverting to the subject of Railways, he said that the Railway Companies here in Ireland, all through, would greatly benefit the communities by bringing their Railway fares down to a moderate sum, especially at times such as Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when the public at large would travel if the fares were put at all within their reach. He found that in Limerick the companies were blind to their own interests, and pointed out that whereas a very moderate sum was charged for a return ticket from Dublin to Cork, especially when the Cork Park Races took place, the people of Limerick were charged single tickets for the return journey from Limerick to Cork. Why, he asked, should not the people of this city have equal rights as the others at

a distance? There was one thing, of course, which, viewed in the light of contrast as between England and this country, made a great difference—the exodus of the population of this country. He (speaker) had heard a person say, “Where is the population gone, and where is the future population to come from?” Well, he thought they must look at the matter in this way—the backbone of Ireland was largely gone in one sense in emigration, in another sense by our young men enlisting in the British Army, and, unfortunately, it was greatly by the large and exhaustive consumption of strong drink. He regretted to say that two of the most successful manufactures of Ireland were Irish Whiskey and XX Porter. It was no credit to the country to say that these manufactures were so successful—they were equally successful elsewhere, he, of course, admitted; but he wished that every Irish capitalist would take up such manufactures as would benefit mankind instead of ruining them.

MR. COPEMAN (George Street) next spoke. He said that the only way he saw it was expedient to pursue, with a view to getting the evils complained of remedied, was to keep repeating what the country wanted, until the Government were compelled to do something. There was no healthy public sentiment, and what was required was to hold meetings of that kind in all towns, irrespective of creed and party, with the single purpose of developing our industries. If they met in that way and passed resolutions, all through the cities and country towns of this island, they would force the hand of the Government to assist them by granting help, which they (the Government) knew, as well as we did ourselves, would be for the benefit of the country. Influential members of Royal Commissions had reported strongly in favour of Government purchase of Irish Railways. Now, he (Mr. Copeman) believed the first question in the development of Irish industries was the purchase of these Railways by the Government. As regarded fares and rates for traffic, it seems to him (the speaker) that every obstacle had been put in the way. The Duke of Abercorn had been quoted several times in the course of this Debate; he (the speaker) wanted to quote him again now—especially the opening part of his address, (given shortly after Mr. Shaw’s Papers were read here), as he struck on an important point: “It would seem to be generally admitted by those who have made it

their business to study the question, that now is a favourable time for the Government to intervene in the interest of Irish industries. There is a consensus of opinion respecting this point on the part of all who have of late written or spoken upon the matter. More than this, I do not think I exaggerate in asserting that England owes Ireland something by way of reparation for that political action which, in years past, went so near to strangling her manufactures, and did actually destroy her woollen industry." Mr. Copeman, having read the passage, said that he thought observations like these, coming as they did from the Duke of Abercorn, and from gentlemen of all creeds and classes, showed a general feeling, he would not say of sympathy, because, as regards the Irish question, there was too much appeal to sympathy and not business—but an expression of principles we should do well to take notice of. He thought what was wanted here was good healthy public sentiment, and that this was a matter of the first importance. There was no use in starting industries or private enterprises at present, but he believed if each one put his shoulder to the wheel, and endeavoured to create a sentiment, such as was created in England, when any question materially affecting its prosperity was concerned, they would force the hands of the Government. The speaker then read a number of figures mentioned in the Second Report of the Royal Commission, showing the number of vessels which were then in use, and the men employed at the time in the Fishing industry. The first essential and practical issue of this meeting was in the way of resolution, but it was thought better by those in authority that, situated as they were, we should not interfere. He thought that it would be very good if merchants were given an opportunity to raise their voices on the platform, and again and again come forward and advocate the merits of Irish industries.

MR. RICHARD SMITH (Merchant) said that as regarded the argument that Irish industries were useless and unprofitable, history came in and settled that. They had been clearly told by Mr. Froude, without much equivocation, that in the latter part of the eighteenth century Irish industries—especially Woollen manufactures—were of a most successful kind; and, to prove it, owing to their great success, obtained the jealousy of the manufacturers in England. He did not like to introduce anything that would be controversial into

this discussion, or to bring in any historical remarks that would create any unpleasant feeling, but at the same time it should be borne in mind that at present we had little or no manufacturers in this country, and he wanted to point out why we hadn't them. As he had already said, the Irish manufactures were so successful that they obtained the jealousy of the English manufacturers in the same trade, and instead of meeting competition in a fair and honourable way the English manufacturers descended to the cowardly trick of appealing underhand to the then Government, and the Government of the day had the ear of the then King—William III., Prince of Orange—and instead of the Prince of Orange acting the part which a paternal ruler ought to have acted—to give the same laws and rights to Ireland as England—and instead of backing up and giving fair play to his Irish subjects, he backed up his English subjects who wanted to beat down the successful Irish manufactures—and put on a prohibitive tariff of 20 per cent. on exported goods out of Ireland to England, and furthermore prevented the Irish Woollen manufacturers' goods from being imported into England. This was the cause of there being no manufactures—especially Woollen manufactures—in Ireland at the present time; this was the reason—in times gone by there was no paternal Government. He (speaker) considered that the Railway system was a wretched system, inasmuch as the comfort of the passengers was not studied, and the reason why these things existed as they did was because we had not a paternal Government. We have had the Franchise largely extended, and 103 Members of Parliament altogether now, but 86 of them were agreed on a certain point, and the opinion of the 86 on matters relating to Ireland had no weight whatsoever in the British House of Commons—therefore in Ireland there was no such thing as paternal Government. Now, in European countries where successful manufactures existed which had beaten down our manufactures—and not only our manufactures, but English manufactures also—he found in all these countries that the success of all their manufactures was owing to the fact that each country had a paternal Government. In Belgium, France, America, and other countries, he found that their manufactures in times gone by were exceedingly small, and in order to develop them the Government put on a prohibitive tariff on all goods

imported into them—America, for instance, will elucidate what is meant—and by that means the manufactures were enabled to develop themselves. The speaker next alluded to the operations of the Royal Commission appointed in 1852, to find out what was the cause of the famine and misery in the South of Ireland, and commented on the fact that though the Report of the Commissioners showed that the system of Land Tenure in this country, to a great extent, was the cause, nothing, practically speaking, had been done by the Government. He simply brought this forward to show what Royal Commissions had done. The same thing applied to Fisheries. Lady Burdett-Coutts had done more on the subject of Fisheries than all the Royal Commissions. Having referred to the principles of working which the Local Government Board adopted, he concluded by saying that the laws were not so bad, but the administration was rotten. They wanted in the South of Ireland and in the North of Ireland a Government that would administer the laws for the benefit of the many and not the few—that would administer for the good of the community, and not for the benefit of the classes.

MR. GEORGE BOYD (Merchant, William Street) then addressed the audience. He agreed with a previous speaker that if we put our shoulders to the wheel for the purpose of advancing our country we would make greater progress than we had been making. The Railways had been spoken about, and he (speaker) knew by experience that the rates which they charged in most cases were very high. He found that he could get goods from Glasgow or Liverpool to Limerick nearly as cheap as he could get them from Dublin, and in other places it was the same way—the charges were much too high. Mr. Boyd referred to the Fishing Industries of Ireland, and said that when the Government, some years ago, gave a grant of money for the purpose of increasing that industry, the fishermen did not look after it, got careless, let it go to loss, lost a great deal of the trade, and would not attend to it. He (Mr. Boyd) had just been considering that we had over 100 Members of Parliament, but he failed to see what they were doing for the advantage of the country. Did they ever go and call on the Government to make improvements in the Shannon here? In any other country there would have been provided places for vessels to land,

but here, instead of our Members agitating for things which would be for the benefit of our country, we did not hear anything whatever about them. He could have wished that Members of Parliament would agitate for things which would be for the good of the country, because they had been put into positions of authority and power to work for the express good of the country. He thought that there was too much opposition between capital and labour in this country, and that if there was more unity on the part of those who employed capital and labour it would be for the good of the country.

The President (REV. W. BAXENDALE) called on Mr. Shaw to reply to the observations of the various speakers.

MR. SHAW, in reply to the Discussion, said he could not tell his audience what gratification their kindly reception of his Papers had afforded him. With regard to Mr. Bennis's allusion to Ship-building in Cork and Waterford, he did not think it could be called a natural industry. As regards Belfast, the Ship-builders there were close to the Scotch iron markets, and there was a cheap water transit from Belfast, and in that way it had the upper hand of every town in Ireland—even of Dublin. To give them an idea of the advantage of location, Messrs. Sharp, Stewart & Company, of Manchester, found it necessary, when the lease of their locomotive building yard dropped, to take premises in Glasgow and carry on their business there in future. He admitted the force of what Mr. Bennis said, but he meant to show that there was a great number of industries which were as favourable to one district as another, and to which we should look to resuscitate and establish. In answer to Mr. Craig, he would like to ask, did Mr. Craig believe in his heart of hearts, that two wrongs made one right? Was England, who then posed as the asylum of liberty, justified in refusing to a portion of her own country the very liberty accorded to the outcasts of other nations? Touching on the subject of Fisheries, the speaker said that industry was different now-a-days to what it was twenty years ago, when we had not the railway system, telegraph system, fast steamers, etc. Now, we wanted larger and more powerful craft, but he did not know how they were to be provided by individual private enterprise. If we got boats, of course we must have piers for the boats to come alongside, and at any state of the tide.

There were three things altogether to be looked after, and upon which the Fishery question hung—the matter of Boats, Piers, and Harbours. There was one thing we should remember in connection with Government aid for this purpose—we were not pleading as paupers, we were simply going to ask them to lend us the money, to be repaid with interest at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and we would provide a Sinking Fund to pay off the loan. We did this often before in connection with loans for similar purposes.

Mr. Shaw was glad to see that a very able paper had been read since his own by a very great man—a man whom he was proud to say was an Irishman—the Duke of Abercorn. It was a great thing to find such a prominent man urging this National question to the front. Passing to Mr. Murray's criticism, he thought Mr. Murray struck the key-note when he said that the British Government never showed any true anxiety to help the Irish in their difficulties. That was the great point to his (speaker's) mind which Mr. Murray had made. Now, he (Mr. Shaw) was afraid that a number of the audience thought he was for the Government subsidising every Irish industry—he wished to put his foot on that at once. He said the Government should only supplement public effort, and that as regards private enterprise, they should only give money to a very small degree, and nothing until a certain amount of local effort had been made. Government aid should supplement rather than supersede local effort. Mr. Robinson had dropped the name of Bryant and May as match manufacturers, during his observations, but, perhaps, he did not know that the majority of the matches were made in Sweden. We could make these matches as well as the Swedes if we had the wood; but the secret of Sweden making such wonderfully good matches lay in the wood which they used in their manufactures. The proportion of trees to each inhabitant of Great Britain and Ireland was represented by the figure 1; but in Denmark there were 3 trees to every inhabitant; Portugal, 3; Holland, $1\frac{1}{2}$; Hungary, 6; France, 7; Russia, 94; and *Sweden and Norway*, 126. Mr. Shaw next alluded to the observations of some of the speakers on the manufacture of Soap in Ireland, and said that it was once a tremendous industry in Cork; some of those present must also recollect when a fair Soap trade was done in Limerick, but it was cut out by English

adulteration of the article. A chemist hit upon a dodge of loading Soap with water, so that a certain amount of Soap had a certain amount of water, and the consequence was that the Soap which came over to this country was unable to bear the test given to it by laundresses and such people who know what good Soap should be. Unfortunately, the public do not look at these things in the right way—they simply looked at what the thing cost and not at the intrinsic value.

As corroborative of his own remarks upon the growing of Fruit, Mr. Shaw read a short extract from a well-known Trade journal to the following effect:—"At Thornbury, a meeting was held to consider the subject of Fruit-growing, and Sir W. Wedderburn presided. Mr. Stafford Howard said a certain great statesman's advice to farmers to make jam had been laughed at, but since then Fruit-growing had been carried on on a much bigger scale than formerly. He noticed this particularly in Cambridgeshire, where a jam factory had been erected, and *hundreds of tons* of jam were sent away to the populous towns. Mr. Sampson Morgan, of the National Fruit Growers' League, said this country paid *eight millions a year* to the foreigners for Fruit, a very large portion of which could be grown at home. It was not an uncommon thing for 50,000 bushels of American apples to be disposed of in England in one day. The English apples were worth more than the American, the difference in value being from 20 to 50 per cent. in favour of the English, but still the industry was neglected in England. At 8s. a bushel, apple growing might become a profitable industry, and choice Fruit would never fetch less than that, while, if stored still later in the season, it would realise 10s. or 12s. in any quantity. By growing choice fruit, £50 an acre at least might be earned, and many growers made £100 or more."

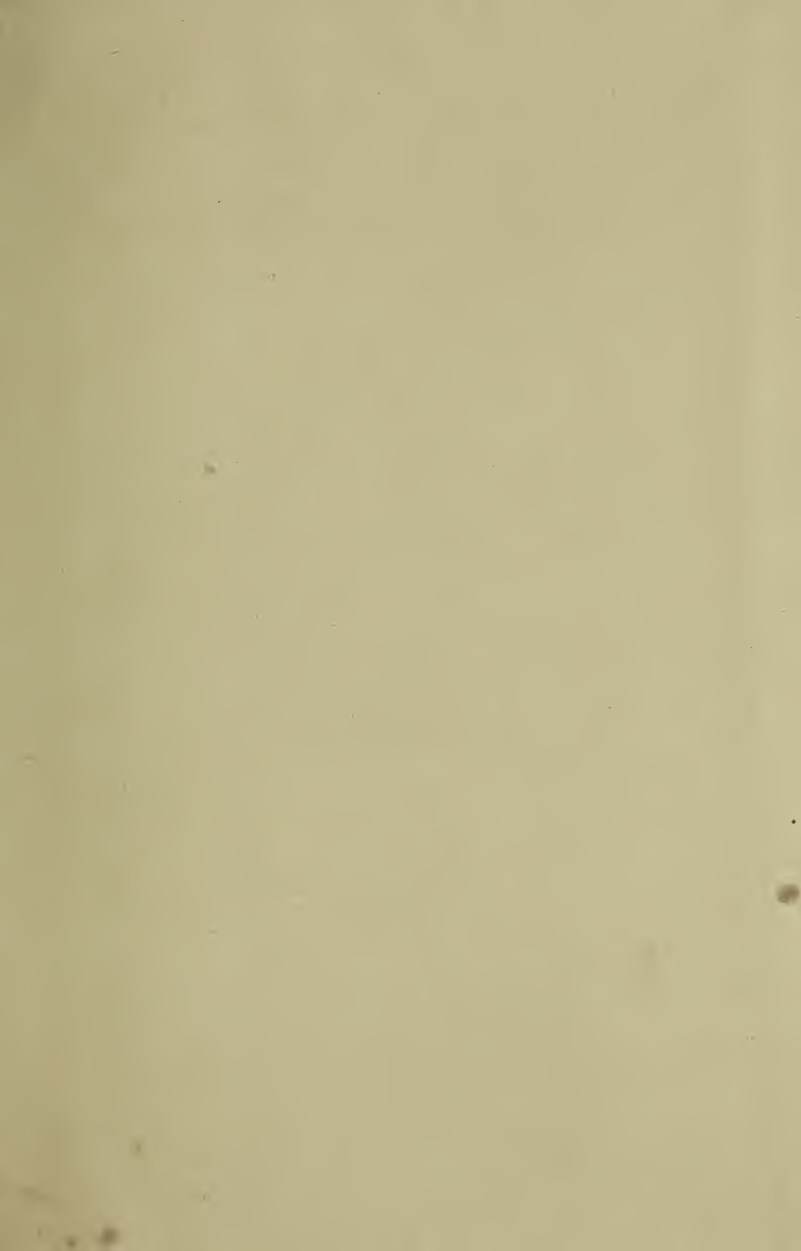
Mr. Shaw (continuing) said—With regard to Mr. Grubb's remarks on Milling, there was one thing we should not forget—that the system of Milling had altered completely within the last ten years. On the whole he was disposed to consider that the Milling trade of the present age was a very large one, notwithstanding that people in the country now and then pointed to a defunct mill, and said, "Oh, that trade is knocked on the head." He had heard some one talk about the Irish being averse to hard work, lying in bed in the morning and being too conversational. Now, that was

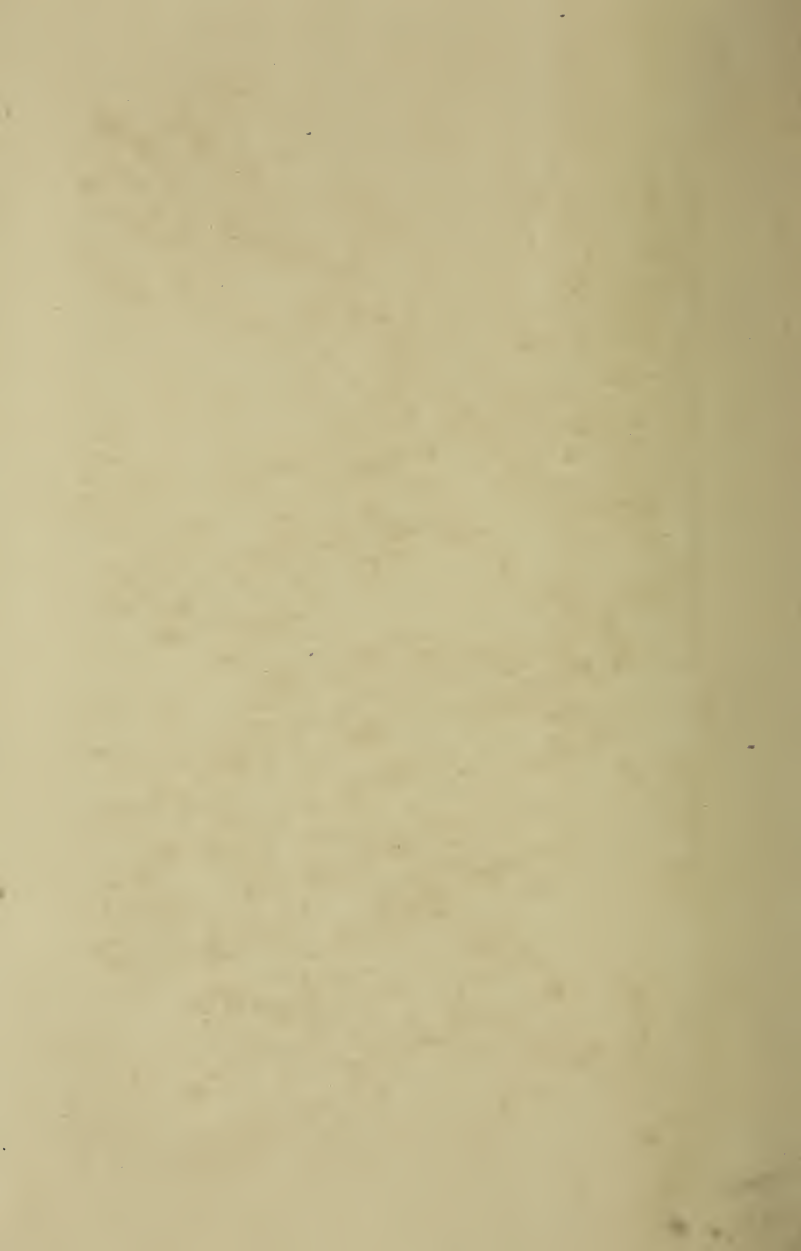
not his (Mr. Shaw's) experience at all. He found that the occupiers of low cottier farms were up in summer at three and four o'clock in the morning, and often did not go to bed till twelve at night. In conclusion, Mr. Shaw said that if he had put any new commercial ideas into the heads of any young men present—if he had induced any fresh thoughts to spring up in their minds, he was thoroughly and completely repaid for any little trouble the Paper had given him.

The PRESIDENT said, that he was not disposed, in the interest of the meeting, at that late hour, to detain them any longer, but he hoped the audience would bear with him while he made a few observations. First of all, I have to congratulate the Class on the high level of this debate which has characterized both nights. I think this is a great deal owing to Mr. Shaw's statesmanlike Paper, and his method of bringing the whole subject before us. I am sure he will understand that the young men of Limerick appreciate his coming among them in the same spirit which he (Mr. Shaw) shows he appreciates the careful attention paid to the subject. I must also congratulate the audience on the patience they have exhibited in sitting out this debate, and it only shows how deeply interested they are in the welfare of this country. Mr. Copeman has struck the key-note, when he said that we wanted in Limerick and here in Ireland means for the hearty expression of public sentiment on these great questions on the platform and in the Press, quite irrespective of party or creed. There is no country, I am certain, where it is more necessary that the people themselves should try to do something to establish commerce and trade than in Ireland. Unfortunately the Irish question is looked upon as a purely agrarian question, but Mr. Shaw has convinced us that it is a commercial question also. There is also the subject of the co-operation of workmen and masters, and indeed between all classes of the community working together for the National good to which reference has been made. That point I wish to emphasize. As regards the purchase of the Railways, if England wishes to confer a boon on the Irish people, let her do it in this direction. She cannot serve this nation better. As to the question of the Fisheries, the point has come up over and over again that the Government ought to do something, and that speedily. On all hands it has been confessed that England does owe a debt to this country,

which in some way or other should be repaid. I have listened attentively from this chair, and gentlemen seemed to me to have said so unanimously. There are things in which this country can be helped—that is certain, and I perfectly agree with the sentiment. I now thank you again for the enthusiastic way you have listened to this great and important question.

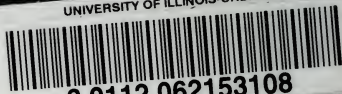






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